

SIXTEENTH

ANNUAL REPORT,

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 26, 1848.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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INTERVIEW
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R E P O R T.

FOR the sixteenth time the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as the servants of the Abolitionists and of the Slaves, present themselves before their constituents to give an account of the general aspects of the Cause, as well as of their own labors in its behalf, during the year which is just elapsed. While we justly regard the office with which you have invested us, as the depositaries of your Anti-Slavery confidence, of which this is a portion of the duties, the most highly honorable and the most truly responsible that we could hold in this country, we are deeply aware of the disproportion of the means placed in our hands for the accomplishment of the results at which we aim; and we are, yearly, more and more oppressed with the sense of the difficulty of compressing within the moderate limits at our command the multitudinous topics which throng upon our memories, when we cast a glance at the procession of events which make up the last year's history. Every year does the task which you have imposed upon us, of pursuing the tracks of Slavery in the Church and in the State, and of pointing out the effects of its open crimes and of its hidden iniquities, become more and more difficult. And this, not from the poverty, but from the abundance, of our materials. Slavery, which from the beginning of our national history, has been the controlling and governing principle of our political and ecclesiastical affairs, in proportion as its disguises have been stripped from it, has become only the more desperate in

its audacity, the more ravenous in its greed, the more insolent in its despotism. It has been ever Omnipotent and Omnipresent; but every succeeding year multiplies the manifestations of its presence and its power. It is with but a small portion of this vast subject that we can pretend to grapple on this occasion.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

The last year has been full of events. The prophecies of the Abolitionists, derided, as they have always been when uttered, as fantastic and visionary, are in a course of rapid fulfilment. It is but three or four years ago that our assertions as to the designs of the South upon Texas, and our predictions of her certain success, were treated as the fanatic dreams of hot-headed enthusiasts. But Texas has been for more than two years a recognized member of our sisterhood of States. We, then, announced the purpose of our Slaveholding Administration to create a war with Mexico. The annunciation was scouted as absurd and impossible. But it is nearly two years since its accomplishment began. And when we further indicated, that not merely the partition, but the acquisition, of Mexico herself was the ultimate purpose of the Dominant Power, it was received as an extravagant ebullition of disappointment and passion. And yet this proposition is gravely maintained by presses in various parts of the country, among others by the National Era, the metropolitan organ of the late Third Political Party, and has been embodied in the form of Resolutions offered for the action of Congress. So rapid, indeed, is the progress of events under the control of the Slave Power, since it has been relieved of all apprehensions of effectual Northern resistance to its designs, that Prophecy can scarcely keep its precedence of History, but events sweep past almost before their advent can be discerned.

Since we last appeared before you the bloody battle of Buena Vista has been fought; the city of Vera Cruz has been besieged and taken; General Scott has fought his way to the Capital of Mexico and is now in undisputed possession of it. The Mexican armies are, to all appearance, dispersed. The Mexican Republic, if not conquered, seems at least to have

exhausted her means of defence. We have gained by these triumphs an enormous public debt, a great loss of life, an immense increase of Executive patronage, and the prospect of a vast acquisition of territory suitable for the extension of Slavery. The purposes of the War were sufficiently indicated by the instructions given to Mr. Trist, the itinerant Commissioner, who accompanied General Scott, which forbade him from making any treaty which did not concede the province of New Mexico to the United States. It was upon the refusal of the Mexican Government to assent to this extortionate demand that broke off the negotiations, and was followed by the hostilities which terminated in the capture of the City. What terms will be finally extorted from the Mexican Government, when one can be found, in the present distracted state of that nation, to treat with, remains to be seen. But it is hardly to be supposed that they will be more favorable to the defeated party than those demanded before the victory was certain.

The armed occupation of Santa Fe and the Californias has been maintained, without serious resistance, during all this time; so that the United States are virtually in possession of the whole Mexican territory, out of which we are to choose the portions which will best make us amends for the trouble we have been at in helping ourselves to them. Mr. Trist, indeed, was willing to lend a favorable ear to the demands of the Mexican Commissioners so far as not to insist upon the cession of the Californias, they being unsuitable to the object for which the war was waged; and had the Mexicans been willing to yield the territory which Slavery coveted, peace might have been made on the easy terms of sacrificing the possible interests of the Free States in the fruits of the Conquest. But the negotiations being broken off upon this issue, the whole of Mexico, from sea to sea, lies at the mercy of our warriors and diplomatists. The game is a sufficiently obvious one. The North is to be quieted with the sop of the Californias, or as much of them as can be obtained without endangering the more important objects of the treaty, while the South seizes upon New Mexico to gorge the insatiate maw of Slavery. As the half of barren Oregon was granted to still the clamors of the Free States when the Slave States demanded all fertile

Texas in which to expand themselves, so the half or the whole of sterile California may be granted to the vassals as the price of silence and consent to the wealthier rapine of their lords.

In the meantime, this marauding incursion into the domains of our neighbor, whose only sin against us was that the "daily beauty of her life," as far as the treatment of her colored population is concerned, did "make us ugly," and that she had broad lands that we coveted for abominable uses, has excited no widespread and deep-felt abhorrence in the mind of this religious nation. Here and there a press, and now and then a pulpit, has spoken in fit terms of denunciation and indignant rebuke of this public wickedness. Demonstrations on the part of portions of the political parties have been made upon this point, which shall be noticed in another place. But few and faint have been the words of earnest remonstrance when compared with the shouts of triumph with which our infamous successes have been hailed by the one party, and the expressive silence in which the other has mused their praise. The guilty submission of the North to the Annexation of Texas is already producing the first fruits of the harvest of that craven sowing. The desperate South set its fate upon the hazard of that die. The North vaporized and blustered and talked great swelling words of its resistance, even unto Disunion, to that political Revolution. The South saw that the permanence, indeed the existence, of the element by which it governed its white as well as its black slaves, depended on the accomplishment of that Revolution, and it took the risk. It triumphed and set its heel more firmly than ever upon the neck of the servile and crouching North. Even the faint show of opposition which was made to that crime, was manliness and resolution itself compared with the feebleness of the resistance that is opposed to these instant and impending enormities. None of sufficient moment to avert, or to delay, the indefinite extension of Slave territory, is to be hoped for. The rallying moment was lost, the hosts of Slavery swept over us, and we have no reason to expect anything but the doom of the conquered. Our only hope lies in the very extravagances of the tyrant. There is a possibility, though a remote one, that the North may yet be spurned and scourged into a vindication of its rights. That Slaveholding

insolence may yet create a soul under the ribs of its moral death, and recall the spirit which has been fled almost since the Revolution. The excesses of the Slave Power, therefore, cannot be excessive; for they exist only by our crime, and continue but by our cowardice. If they do not point out to us our Remedy, they are at least our fitting Punishment.

WILMOT PROVISO.

In our last Report we gave an account of the Proviso to the Resolution appropriating two millions of dollars to be employed by the President in purchasing a peace with Mexico, moved by Mr. Wilmot of Pennsylvania, at the close of the first session of the last Congress, to the effect that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, shall ever exist in any part of any territory to be acquired from Mexico, except for crime;" and of the manner in which the action of the Senate was prevented, after it had passed the House, by Mr. Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, speaking against time, until the hour fixed for adjournment arrived. A proviso to the same effect was appended to a bill authorizing the President to use three millions of dollars for the same purpose, on motion of Mr. Preston King, of New York, and passed the House by a vote of 115 to 105. In the Senate, however, the proviso was struck out by a majority of *ten*, and, upon the resolution being returned to the House, the proviso was lost by a vote of 97 to 102, and it was then passed without the amendment by a vote of 115 to 82! So supple and subservient are the faithful Commons of this Republic to the authentic will of the House of Slaveholders! Since that time, this proviso has furnished the chief nucleus for the opposition to the war and its objects, to the more independent spirits of both parties. The outrage upon the Constitution committed in the Annexation of Texas, following at its due interval upon those of the Annexation of Louisiana and Florida, having been submitted to, the point seems to be granted, on all hands, that any quantity of territory may be united to these States, and all that is left to the Free States is to make a stand, of necessity an unavailing one, against the permission of Slavery in such new acquisitions.

This very shape which the political hostility to Slavery has found itself compelled to take, is one of the strongest testimonies to the supremacy of that Power over us. It has trampled under foot all Constitutional guarantees which stood in the way of its designs, while it enforces them upon us, in their straitest interpretation, to prevent our interference with those purposes. And having conceded the thing demanded, our Anti-Slavery Politicians would make amends for their folly by seeking to obtain the consent of the victor that it shall not be used for the purpose for which it was sought and won. A pregnant proof that there can be no effective resistance made to the encroachments of the Slave-power except by men who regard the Union as the great political bulwark of Slavery, and who are ready to level it with the dust as a necessary preliminary to the destruction of that enemy of mankind, and to the vindication of their own rights. We can but hope that the daily developments of our history may at last make the Anti-Slavery portions of all parties discern that there is no Exodus for them out of the slavish bondage in which they live as their brother's keepers, excepting over the ruins of the existing Union and Constitution.

The whole history of the United States, since it was gathered into a nation, has been a continual witness to the truth that there can be no genuine Union between Good and Evil, between Liberty and Slavery. There never has been a *Union* of these States. A *Coalition* there has been; and its fate has been that of every coalition which has been attempted to be made, between a good principle and a bad one, since the world began. The Bad has predominated over the Good. The victory has been, as it should have been, to the Evil Element of the attempted Compromise.

The only history, worthy the name, that we have in this country, is the narrative of the various devices of the North to escape the jaws of Slavery, without taking her head out of its mouth. Attempts, more or less vigorous, have been made, at various periods, to put the monster on short allowance, but they have always failed. And they must always fail as long as they are made in subordination to the agreement which gives Slavery the power to help itself. The resistance which was made to

the Purchase, and afterwards to the Admission, of Louisiana, the Missouri contest, and the Texas struggle, were conspicuous attempts of this nature. And splendid failures they were, all of them. The present phase of this spirit of resistance to the aggressions of Slavery is seen in what is called the Wilmot Proviso, which embodies the principle, that whatever Territory is acquired by the present war shall be Free Territory. A large part of the Whig, and a proportion of the Democratic, presses make a stand upon this ground. Resolutions to this effect passed the Legislature of Massachusetts, unanimously, and have also passed the Legislatures of various other Northern States, Democratic as well as Whig. But this effort will be as futile as any of its predecessors. After the vaporizing about the Annexation of Texas, and the smoke in which it ended, Slavery will be indeed a fool (and *that* it has never been in its generation) if it be deterred by these demonstrations from doing what it likes.

Hopes have been entertained that the Democratic Party at the North, would rally round this principle at the next Election for President, and put Silas Wright, as its incarnation, in the Chair of State. But this hope, faint as it should have been, has been dispelled by the sudden death of that Statesman; and all the other prominent Northern aspirants for the place, will be ready enough to repudiate it, for the sake of the only support which can give them a chance of a nomination, much more of an election. The South has taken its ground firmly and decidedly, and there is no doubt of its maintaining it successfully. Its vantage is too great for defeat. If it want the whole continent to Cape Horn, it can have it for all the resistance the North will make. The heart of the North must be renewed before it will be ready to make any effectual head against the irruptions of the Slave Power. And that will not be before the next Election. Of which circumstance the Democrats, at least, are well aware.

And how stands it with the Whigs? The undivided front which they seemed at one time to present, under this standard, is already broken. Southern Machiavelism has already made a crack, which, by due pains, may be widened into a split. The Hon. Mr. Berrien of Georgia, a pious Slaveholder, and one

of the officers of the Bible Society and of the A. B. C. F. M., if we are not much mistaken, has suggested the change of the issue from "No more Slave Territory," to "No more Territory."

Mr. Schouler, the editor of the Boston Atlas, who, before he was translated to a metropolitan See, gave some signs of Anti-Slavery vitality and sagacity, falls in with this suggestion, and is followed by a portion, not large as yet, of the Northern Whig Press. Mr Berrien is, plainly, a knowing man. He is no unworthy-pupil of the great Compromiser, Clay, to whom that same Atlas judged Boston would give as warm-a welcome as she did to Lafayette! He takes a proposition that has a vital principle in it, and after squeezing its life out, offers its breathless corpse to his Whig brethren as a much more efficient leader than when it was alive! And he is taken at his word by a portion, which we prophesy will be an increasing portion, of the Whig Party. No more 'Territory! No more than what? Than to the Rio Grande, or the Nueces, or the City of Mexico? A Dissolving Frontier like ours knows no such thing as New Territory. All that we want was ours from the Creation of the World.

A little later Mr. Buchanan takes the Democrats in hand, and kindly helps them out of their quandary. "Northern Democrats are not to be expected to approve of Slavery in the abstract," it seems! This is a great, and rather a startling concession. But then, the Constitution, Compromises, Compacts, and all the rest of it, make it plain that they are expected to approve of all Slavery does in the concrete. Mr. Buchanan, of course, cannot be opposed to the acquisition of Territory, nor even of Slave Territory. But he is not in favor of nothing but Slave Territory. O, no! He is for applying the Missouri Compromise to whatever we help ourselves to, and excluding Slavery from all north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes! Or in plain terms, he would prohibit Slavery wherever it is physically impossible that it should exist! And the Northern Democrats jump joyfully to the same conclusion, and all their perplexities are at an end!

But it is all mere beating the air, even if the Whigs, or Democrats, or both, at the North, were of one mind as to the Wilmot Proviso. What could they do even to procure its adoption? Suppose Mr. Corwin, who seems the present Whig

representative of the Wilmot idea, to be elected President, what could he do, or they that chose him do? Could they say to Slavery, "Thus far shalt thou go, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed"? There, in the Senate, will sit that iron majority of Slaveholders, who will mock at all their impotent struggles. The example of Mr. Berrien shows that the Whigs cannot depend on the Southern division of their party, in a case where the interests of Slavery are at stake. The Proviso can never become a law, and it will be distinctly intimated that no man that maintains it can expect confirmation for any office, at the hands of the Senate. The way of escape which Mr. Berrien has opened will be made as broad as the Way that leadeth to Destruction, and many there will be that will walk therein. The history of the Proviso, last winter, is an antetype of what is in store for it. Passed by a Democratic House, it was, as soon as the will of the Senate was expressed, crushed by the very men who had just voted for it.

We hope that the better part of the Whig Party, and of the Democratic Party, too, will do stout battle for the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, because we believe that if anything can show them the only effectual Deliverance, it will be the experience they are about to have. They will find that if they can succeed in tying this millstone about the neck of a Presidential Candidate, it will carry him to the bottom with a most "comfortable alacrity at sinking." They will find that there is not strength enough left to the people of the Free States, even if they were united, to a man, to resist the determined purpose of the Slave Power. They will learn the might of a compact, intelligent Oligarchy over incongruous masses, be they never so massive. They will discover that to attempt to destroy, or to limit, Slavery under the Constitution, is as vain and absurd as to fight in fetters. From all this experience, and more, we trust they will come to see that the only way to be free from the despotism of the Slaveholders, themselves, and to put themselves into a position to give effectual aid to the Slaves, is to DISSOLVE THE UNION!

It may look hard, but it is much easier than to carry the Wilmot Proviso. For the one can be done by the majority of the inhabitants of the Free States, or of a portion of them;

while the other cannot, though they were all united as one man. When the Anti-Slavery Whigs and Democrats will unite in demanding a Reconstruction of the Government; in proclaiming the Dissolution of the present Confederation, and the formation of a New Union that shall be such indeed; when they shall put forth their strength against, instead of under, the present Constitution; when they shall meet, not in partizan Conventions, but in Conventions to prepare the People for a Revolution, or to carry that Revolution into effect; then they will begin to exert some independent political influence, and to produce an effect on public affairs. They can then help to create a Republic in which the will of the People will be law, and not the caprice of a small aristocracy, their natural enemies, above their reach and beyond their control. A Republic, in which there may be such a thing as political success without personal dishonor; in which a career may be opened to men of honor and self-respect as well as to turn-coats and parasites. In short, a Commonwealth, the very opposite of everything that this spurious Republic is, and the realization of everything that it pretends to be.

CONGRESS.

The action on the Wilmot Proviso, in its new form, was all that we have time to notice of the proceedings of the last Congress, although the able speeches of Mr. Calhoun and of Mr. Corwin, as expositions of the Pro-Slavery and the Anti-Slavery points of view, in looking at the facts and the possibilities of Slave-Extension, might well demand a passing word. The speech of Mr. Corwin in particular, was a masterly effort, which placed him in conspicuous position before the country, akin to that which he occupies with his own State, and opened to him a way to public confidence and national distinction. It need not be said that whatever was demanded to carry on our free-booting campaigns in Mexico was readily, though not unanimously, dispensed by the guardians of the public purse.

The opening of the present Congress was marked by an extraordinary event in our Federal annals. For the fourth time, since Congress was, a Speaker has been chosen from New

England. There being a small Whig majority, this became an object of ambition to the aspirants of that party. For some reason the Southern Whigs consented to the nomination of a Northern man, only stipulating that his principles should bear the Southern brand. Though but a small minority of the party, still they might have had a candidate of their own section of country, had they held out to the compromising point. They were satisfied, however, with having one of their own selection; and, in choosing Mr. Winthrop, they elected one who had given them pledges of the truth of his allegiance. His toast given in the Cradle of Liberty, declaring that he would go for the "Union however bounded;" his vote for the War Bill, with its lying preamble; his unwillingness to have the Whig Party committed to the support of none but a consistent enemy of Slavery; his open defence of his public conduct in these respects, all pointed to him as one worthy of the confidence of our Southern Masters. But this delightful unanimity on the part of Southern and Northern Whigs was well-nigh brought to nothing by the contumacy of two members of the party. Thrice was the vote taken, and twice was it defeated by the votes of Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, and of Mr. Palfrey, of Massachusetts. And Mr. Winthrop's election was finally only secured by the vote of Mr. Levin, of Pennsylvania, a "Native American" member, and by the withdrawal of Mr. Holmes, a Nullifying Unionist, from South Carolina.

This latter gentleman in a letter to the Charleston Mercury explaining his course, says plainly, "The Southern Whigs nominated Mr. Winthrop in caucus, *in opposition to a majority of the Northern Whigs*,—because he had been successful in defeating the *Wilmot Proviso* in the Massachusetts Whig Convention!" And he proceeds to acknowledge that Mr. Winthrop had "properly constituted the Committees," excluding Messrs. Palfrey, Giddings, and Tuck from the important ones!"

This act on the part of Mr. Giddings and Mr. Palfrey was in the highest degree honorable to them, inasmuch as it showed that they believed in obligations superior to those of party ties, and were ready to obey them, though at the cost of party denunciation. The excitement which was produced by this act of insubordination, particularly with regard to Mr. Palfrey, and

in his own State, was intense. This gentleman, who is honorably known to the abolitionists and to the country, by his manumission of his hereditary slaves, by his activity in the Anti-Texas campaign, and by his able papers on "The Slave Power," appeared in Congress for the first time, and this was his first act. It was bad in itself. It was worse as a prognostic of what might remain behind. The Pro-Slavery Whigs of his District, and of the neighboring metropolis, who had done their best to prevent his election, by refusing to support him, though the regular candidate, were full of wrath because he dared, in a case where he believed his own consistency and honor, and the best interests of his constituents to be concerned, to imitate their example. His conduct, however, has received the unqualified approval of those whose approbation he would esteem an honor, and we believe will meet with the sanction of his constituents, should he ever again appear at their tribunal. He has auspicated his political career by an act of manhood, singular in this time-serving generation, and we believe that his public conduct will be worthy of the augury that has marked its opening.

Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate, has developed the policy of the wiser sort of the Slaveholding Interest, in a resolution to the following effect: "That to conquer *Mexico*, and to hold it either as a province, or to incorporate it into the Union, would be inconsistent with the avowed object for which the war has been prosecuted; a departure from the settled policy of the government; in conflict with its character and genius; and, in the end, subversive of our **FREE** (!) and **POPULAR** (!) institutions."

But then he goes for taking "a defensive line that shall cover *ample territory for indemnity!*" And this is to be the compromise, probably, on which the North will at last agree with her masters. A compromise by which the South is to be secured in the present possession of all she wants, with the moral and political certainty of having all the rest for the asking !

MASSACHUSETTS.

The events affecting, or affected by, Slavery and Anti-Slavery in this State, though not perhaps so marked as in some

former years, are not unworthy of record. Her position is certainly not much changed for the better since the last year. She has again uttered her Resolves against Slavery and the War, and has again given nearly all her votes for Governor Briggs, who sent the Massachusetts volunteers to fight in the one the battles of the other, and for General Cushing who led them to the field, as the practical embodiment of her resolving spirit. Not long before the adjournment of Congress, Mr. Hayden, Chairman of the Special Committee on Slavery and the Mexican War in the House of Representatives, presented a series of resolutions against Slavery and Slave-extension, which were sufficiently general and tame to secure a unanimous passage. This action it was thought would satisfy the importunity of the Anti-Slavery demands at home, without dissatisfying the Pro-Slavery demands abroad. But the Committee was doomed to disappointment. Mr. Keyes, of Dedham, towards the end of the session, finding that this Committee, of which he was a member, was resolute not to take any decided ground against the Mexican War, moved that the House receive a certain document which he had prepared as a minority Report, and certain Resolutions appended to it, as the expression of the sense of the Legislature upon this subject, and the reasons for it. The House granted the leave, and ordered the papers to be printed.

Under this marked rebuke of the House, Mr. Hayden resigned his place upon the Committee. Mr. Giles, of Boston, who succeeded him, produced a majority report, of a character which might be expected from the duress under which it was extorted. When Mr. Giles's Report came up, in order, Mr. Keyes moved the substitution of his own as an amendment, and sustained his position with distinguished ability and eloquence. The motion prevailed by a large vote. The Resolutions gave rise to an extended debate in the Senate, and they underwent various amendments, which, however, finally left them very much as they were at first. The House refused once to agree to the amendments of the Senate, but the Senate adhering, and they not being material, the House, on motion of Mr. Keyes, concurred in the amendments, by a vote in which nearly every Whig in that body concurred. These resolutions, it will be noticed, were almost identical with those offered by

Mr. S. C. Phillips at the Whig Convention in Faneuil Hall, in the preceding September, and contemptuously rejected. The manner in which Mr. Keyes carried through his resolutions, in the teeth of the leading influences of his party, was highly creditable to his energy and independence. The Report, by which they were introduced, was a State Paper of uncommon value, both from its facts and reasonings, and the skill and power with which they were presented. The result cannot but be regarded as a favorable sign that a more wholesome feeling regarding Slavery, and the crimes that flow from it, lurks in the recesses of the popular mind than we should be led to infer from the action of the popular leaders.

Lest, however, too favorable an omen should be drawn from this circumstance, a contemporaneous act of the House materially qualified the degree of admiration it was calculated to excite. At almost the same time that it passed these resolutions, denouncing Slavery and the Mexican War, it passed another series expressive of its deep-admiration and profound gratitude to General Taylor for the brilliant and satisfactory manner in which he had cut the throats of the Mexicans, in the very war which it had just denounced as one waged for the extension of Slavery! These resolutions, passed by a large majority of the House, were *rejected* by the Senate, by as large a proportionate vote, only *four* voting in the affirmative. Whether this was owing to a reprobation of the object of the resolutions, to a nicer sense of the inconsistent absurdity of the two expressions of opinion, or to a stronger feeling of personal responsibility on the part of a smaller body, we cannot but rejoice that the State was spared this exhibition of patriotic folly.

The petitions which were circulated, under the direction of this board, praying the Legislature to take the necessary measures for the holding of a Convention of the People, to ascertain their sense as to a secession of Massachusetts from the Union, were returned to the Legislature signed by nearly three thousand persons, more than half legal voters. They were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, before which a hearing was had on the 10th of March. Messrs. Phillips and Garrison set forth the rights and duties of Massachusetts in the premises, with great force and clearness, deriving much of their reason-

ing from the arguments of Legislative reports and resolutions, and especially from the very able report of the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Bell, of Boston, on the annexation of Texas. The Committee recommended, and the House granted, that the petitioners have leave to withdraw, but the recommendation was accompanied by no report containing the reasons for it. This course was certainly one dictated by prudence,—for no reasons could have been given which would not have stultified the Collective Wisdom of former years, not to say the Chairman himself. We trust that the number of signatures to this petition will be greatly multiplied this year, and a still stronger appeal made to the Legislature and through them to the People. Petitions analogous to these were denounced in the Ohio Legislature as *treasonable!* If treasonable, only in the sense in which the Revolution was Rebellion! But, here, the State was concluded by its own foregone action from placing us in the category of traitors. Massachusetts had solemnly and repeatedly announced the contingency which would make a withdrawal from the Union justifiable. The contingency had happened. She is foreclosed from condemning those who ask of her consistent action. She would only pronounce her own condemnation. It is our business, as it is in our power, to make her ashamed, if we cannot make her consistent, by an untiring reiteration of this demand.

PENNSYLVANIA.

The State of Pennsylvania has made the last year a memorable one in her annals by an act of public justice and humanity, worthy of her founders' memory and her early days. The Legislature of that State at its session, last winter, repealed the odious law which gave Slaveholders the privilege of holding their human cattle for six months within her borders, and thus made her a Slave State for that length of time, whenever a Southern man-stealer chose to avail himself of its provisions. Now, therefore, as soon as a Slave sets his foot upon her soil, by the permission of his master, his fetters fall and he comes within the protection of her laws. While Pennsylvania has thus refused to recognize the servile estate of the Slave who

passes her frontiers in obedience to the will of his master, she has also forbidden any of her civil functionaries from assisting in the recapture of any fugitive from the land of bondage, who may take sanctuary within her domain. By other provisions of this law analogous to those of the one existing in this State, and known as the "Latimer law," the sheriffs and gaolers are forbidden to use the gaols as places for the detention of re-captured Slaves, and all judicial and executive officers are prohibited from taking part in any process for the restoration of an escaped Slave to his master. This law, after passing the lower House, received the unanimous concurrence of the Senate, and the signature of the Governor. A result highly honorable to the efforts of our Anti-Slavery friends in that State, and indicative of a rapidly improving condition of public feeling on this subject. We trust that this awakened attention in the general mind of Pennsylvania will not be suffered to subside until she has placed her own colored inhabitants in all respects, upon an equality, political and otherwise, with her most favored citizens.

CONNECTICUT.

While the Key-Stone State, lying as it does upon the very frontiers of Slavery, has thus honored herself by this righteous legislation, one of the New England States, a State which makes the loudest professions of all of piety and morality, has disgraced herself by action of a very different complexion.

Last autumn, in accordance with an act of the Legislature to that effect, an amendment to the Constitution of Connecticut, by which the equal political rights of colored men with white men were recognized, was submitted to the suffrages of the People. The proposition stood alone. The bald question whether the color of the skin should be a bar to political equality, was that which the lieges of Connecticut were called together to decide. And what was the decision? Out of some fifty thousand voters, only about twenty-five thousand took the pains to express any opinion at all; and of those that did vote, only some five thousand were found willing to recognize the man of color as a political equal with themselves. Those who abstained from

voting may fairly be taken as opposed to the amendment,— so it appears that out of the entire voting population, but about *one-tenth* were free from this base, degrading, absurd, inhuman, Anti-Christian prejudice of color! We doubt whether any community, in proportion to its size, could be found, in the world, out of this country, that would not be ashamed of political association with such ridiculous barbarians. The Hottentots rise to a high place in the scale of civilization in the comparison. For we do not believe that even a Hottentot would deny the humanity of a Connecticut pedlar, should one find his way to his kraal,— at least, if he had never heard of this political demonstration on the part of the Pedlar State.

The meanness of this transaction is a match for its absurdity. The State of Connecticut, we take it, has not the slightest scruples about putting her dirty hands into the pockets of these colored citizens—or rather inhabitants, who are no citizens—and making them pay their proportion of the expenses of the Government, in which they have no voice. Some seventy-five years ago there was none of the colonies louder in denunciations of the British Parliament for taxing them without representation than this same Colony of Connecticut. She sent Israel Putnam and (which is more to the present purpose) Benedict Arnold to fight the battles of liberty. And having got what she wanted, as far as Great Britain was concerned, she turns round and treats a portion of her own population in the same manner. The British Parliament imposed the taxes on tea, glass, and painters' colors, because it supposed that the Colonies were not strong enough to resist the imposition. The State of Connecticut does the very same thing, because she knows that the handful of poor colored men within her borders can offer no effectual resistance to this oppression. She is proved, by her own acts, to be recreant to principle. She is a traitor to the cause for which the Revolution was fought. She shows that now, at least, the spirit of Arnold predominates over that of Putnam in her composition.

Now what can be the motive for such a demonstration as this? The motive we apprehend to be two-fold. It is compounded partly of the wish which low and grovelling natures have to trample on something beneath them. This accounts for

much of the persecution of the colored people, everywhere in the Free States. It is a comfort to the lowest and most degraded of the whites to feel that there is a class of society which they can despise and trample upon. In the States which make the loudest pretensions to Democracy and regard for popular rights, the popular right of insulting and injuring the colored people with impunity is one of the most prized of all. This element, doubtless, enters largely into the mental composition of this nine-tenths of Connecticut voters. But there is yet another, the influence of which is no less potent. There is no State of which a greater proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in direct business with the South. This traffic, manufacturing, commercial, and peddling, extends itself through all classes of society. And the result is a depth and bitterness of Pro-Slavery depravity, of which this vote is but an imperfect type.

There is but one thing to be said in mitigation of the sentence of unqualified condemnation, which this recreant State deserves. And that is, that the abolitionists have hardly done their duty by her. They have been too much disposed to look upon her as joined to her idols, and fit only to be let alone. They have passed by to fields of greater promise, and left her to the tender mercies of Pro-Slavery religion and pseudo-abolitionism. The result is a proof of the value of the labors of American Theology and of the Third Political Party. Of a Theology in full communion with the Reverend men-stealers of the South, and of a Party which supported for Vice-President a man (the late Mr. Morris) opposed to the repeal of the black laws of Ohio, which showed no earnest opposition to the Annexation of Texas, and which now goes for the larceny of the whole of Mexico by piecemeal. We cannot but think (paradoxical as the proposition may seem, under the circumstances) that there may be souls in Connecticut, which may yet be saved alive. We commend it to the American A. S. Society as a missionary ground calling loudly upon them to come over and help it. A vigorous eampanig or two carried on with the spirit with which the war has been carried into other parts of the enemy's country, we are confident would make an impression, the effect of which would be seen whenever this question shall come up again for popular adjudication.

OHIO.

We have already alluded to the fact that Ohio had pronounced any proposition, to dissolve the Union, treasonable. The Committee, to which the petitions for that object were referred, was distinguished from the analogous one in this State by the fact that it accompanied its permission to the petitioners to withdraw, with a Report, setting forth the reasons for such a disposition of their prayer. As the Report is a brief one, and as it may be supposed to comprise all that can be said against this proposition, we give it entire as a matter of permanent reference. The spirit which it breathes is truly American. Its patriotism looks only to the inconvenience which might possibly result to themselves, exults in the presence of the material prosperity which Ohio has attained under, but in spite of, the Union, and entirely puts out of sight what it has done to the Slaves, her own support of Slavery and, indeed, very existence of such a national institution!

IN SENATE, Feb. 3, 1847, Mr. Goddard from the Select Committee, made the following

REPORT:

The Select Committee to which was referred the Memorial of certain inhabitants of the counties of Columbiana and Mahoning, praying the General Assembly of the State of Ohio to declare the Federal Union dissolved, now report —

It did not need the instructions of the Senate to induce the Committee to report adversely to the prayer of the petitioners. The proposition is traitorous and disloyal. It is not a thing to be entertained, or reasoned upon. The perpetuity of the Union should be assumed — regarded as a fixed fact, not to be debated or questioned. Attachment to the Union should be a feeling — a sentiment in every American breast. It should be instinctive. The American should imbibe it with his mother's milk. It should grow with his growth and strengthen with his strength — be the confidence of his youth, the pride of his manhood, and the solace of his old age. Next to the duties which an American owes to his God, are the duties he owes to his country. The first of these is, Preserve the Union; the second, Preserve the Union; the third, Preserve the Union.

The value of the Union cannot be calculated; if it could, Ohio could show how vastly important that Union is to her. Centrally situated, her citizens sending the products of their industry at one season, through the artificial channels of the North, and at another, by the great river of the South, finding access to the Ocean at points 2,000 miles apart, what portion of the Union could Ohio spare? Where would she draw the dividing line? Shall the beautiful river which forms her Southern boundary, now teeming with peaceful commerce, free as the air we breathe, and witnessing no hostilities but the generous competition of enterprising people, shall that be the boundary line between independent and unconnected States? Then may we expect to see arrayed upon the opposite banks, the hostile armies of the divided nations. Bristling cannon shall supplant the waving wheat upon its hills—the march of armed men tread down the products of its valleys, and the waters of the Ohio be discolored with the blood of her sons. Are our citizens prepared for this? Can the memorialists, many of whom belong to the gentler sex, averse to civil commotion and bloodshed—ministering angels to man when pain and sickness distracts him, tempering with their softness the rough asperities of man's nature—can they willingly see such possible consequences with complacency?

When the first President of the United States, the Father of his Country, was about retiring from that high office to which the partiality of his grateful countrymen had twice unanimously called him, he addressed to them an affectionate letter, prompted only by the great love he bore to the people he had saved, and containing sentiments which should be perpetually cherished by the American people. This paper, usually styled Washington's Farewell Address, and bearing date September 17, 1796, should, next to the Bible, be the daily reading of our people. His warning voice must be forgotten, his counsels contemned and disregarded, before any one can be willing to raise a parricidal hand against the union of these States.

The committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

CHAS. B. GODDARD.
JOHN MARTIN.
A. P. EDGERTON.

Resolved, That the memorialists have liberty to withdraw their memorial.

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the Secretary of State cause to be printed an edition of Washington's Farewell Address, and distributed to each school district in the State.

THE SOUTH.

We have again to record testimonies to the prevailing force of the Anti-Slavery idea, proceeding from the Slaveholding region, in the utterance and in the action both of the foes and the friends of Slavery. The State of Delaware came very near the glory of being the first emancipating State since the Modern Abolition Movement began. A bill providing for the gradual abolition of Slavery in that State passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 12 to 8; and was lost in the Senate only by a tie vote. Such a result as this is in the highest degree hopeful, and must be the precursor of entire success at no distant day. As an additional evidence of the progress of the spirit of Liberty in that State, it should be remembered that the only member of Congress from a Slaveholding State who voted for the Wilmot Proviso was Mr. Houston, member of the House from Delaware. Delaware, too, is the only Slaveholding State which has an organized Anti-Slavery Society. We have noticed with pleasure the reports of its action, and would commend its appeals for help to the favorable consideration of abolitionists in more fortunate regions. We cannot but attribute this legislative proof of an Anti-Slavery state of the public mind to the existence, and the efforts, of this body.

Among the most encouraging of these signs beneath our Southern skies, is the vote in Kentucky for a Convention to amend the Constitution. Though it has not been so declared, or made a topic of general agitation, it is well understood that the metamorphosis of Kentucky, either gradual or immediate, from a Slave State into a Free State, is the thought which informed the minds of the voters, when they cast their ballots for or against it. By the provisions of the Constitution, a second popular vote must be taken, before the Convention can be called; but the majority was so decidedly in favor of it, that it is hardly possible that any influences can prevent its being held. The majority was singularly triumphant. The majority is required to be not only of the persons voting, but of the whole number of persons *entitled to vote*, whether they exercise their

franchise or not. As the Examiner truly says, this is equivalent to a *two-thirds* requisition in ordinary cases. Still the majority was nearly *twenty-four* thousand out of all the voters, and nearly *fifty* thousand of those that actually voted. The Convention, therefore, we cannot doubt, will be held; and being held, it is hardly to be supposed it will separate without doing somewhat towards striking from the neck of Kentucky the millstone, which has made her lag so much behind her neighbor rival Ohio, in the race of wealth and improvement.

The establishment, too, of Anti-Slavery papers within the enchanted ground of Slavery, is another symptom, ominous of the breaking of its spell. The fact that they are demanded and can exist, is a most pregnant sign. It shows that the van-guard of the army of Liberty is advanced into the confines of the enemy's country. A lodgment is fairly made. The first step is taken. The stone is thrown. The question is asked. The Revolution, which never goes backward, is begun in the suburbs, at least, of the capital. The monarch within it trembles, for he knows that his doom is sealed. Darkness is the only element in which he can exist, and here are crevices made through which pours in the light of day. A newspaper is a more fatal enemy to a false institution than an army with banners. A printing press is an engine of more potency than all the artillery of tyrants. First in this field is the broad sheet of the Louisville Examiner, hoisted in the place of that of the True American, ingloriously struck when Cassius M. Clay exchanged the battle-fields of Liberty for those of Slavery. It is a paper conducted with very great ability. Mr. Vaughan is, certainly, a born editor. There is no paper that we see, on this side the Atlantic, more full of the marks of a thoroughly well informed and accomplished mind. And this, not only on the subject of Slavery, but on all points of general knowledge. Kentucky will make a great mistake, for her own improvement in other matters than the One Thing Needful to her political Salvation, if she should suffer his paper to languish for want of support. There are few men, we should judge, in the country, better acquainted with the political condition and relations of foreign nations, as well as with those of the different States of America, than Mr. Vaughan.

The "Crisis," recently established at Moundsville, Va., is another evidence of the spreading of an Anti-Slavery spirit into the domain of Slavery. We have not seen any numbers of this paper, and consequently cannot speak of its character, except by report. But the circumstance that a paper adopts the principle of abolition as one of its chief purposes, within the frontiers of Slavery, is significant enough of itself. The mere fact that the rightfulness of the great institution is questioned within its own proper jurisdiction, is one which cannot but appeal with great power to all the dwellers therein. It is analogous to the establishment of a free paper in St. Petersburg or Vienna. And we have no hesitation in affirming that the establishment of these two papers has not been retarded, but hastened by the "modern Anti-Slavery movement." Mr. Cassius M. Clay assured us, when he was here, some three years ago, that this was his opinion. If the Pro-Slavery spirit in Church and State, at the North, has been the support and stay of Slavery, which we know it has been, why should not the Anti-Slavery spirit, here, be of the same comfort and encouragement to the Anti-Slavery spirit, there? The Southern Abolitionist has nothing to fall back upon, except the Anti-Slavery feeling of the North. The Northern Abolitionists have given the most effectual help in their power to their Southern brethren, by their own agitation. The one would not have been, as yet, if at all, but for the other.

A very important movement has also marked the past year in Western Virginia. This portion of that great State has long felt the political oppression which the aristocracy created by Slavery inflicts upon the white citizen as a punishment for his consenting to the political annihilation of the Slave. Though this portion of Virginia is the most populous and wealthy part of the State, it has always been, politically, the vassal of the Slave-breeding and Slave-mongering Eastern Virginia, whose Ancient Dominion is secured by the votes of the masters in virtue of their ownership in men. This sense of injury has at length taken an organized form. The prominent persons in this organization are Slaveholders, themselves. The leading spirit appears to be the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, a Presbyterian clergyman of eminence in his denomination. A very able Address,

written by this gentleman, has been widely circulated in that region. The plan suggested is vicious in the extreme, in point of principle. It is grounded on the interests of the white man, and scarcely alludes to the rights of the black man. It proposes the most gradual deliberation in doling out the boon of freedom. It recognizes the sale, the deportation, the colonization of the Slave population. Its aim is to make Western Virginia a Free State for the benefit of the whites, and not in justice to the blacks. This movement, we have reason to believe, extends itself into Western North Carolina, and Eastern Tennessee. But, although the most selfish and utilitarian aspect of this measure is made thus prominent, we are confident that a moral abhorrence of Slavery and a desire to do justice to the Slaves is the underlying foundation of the movement. In this faith we shall watch its progress with the deepest interest, believing that in these imperfect reachings after better things, we discern the beginning of the end.

While we have had the encouragement of these demonstrations at the South, we have not been without the testimony to the prevalence of the Anti-Slavery idea which the excited vigilance and alarm of Slavery could afford us. Southern Legislatures have passed indignant resolutions touching the Wilmot Proviso, declaring that they will not submit to any such restriction upon the occupation of conquered territory. Mr. Calhoun on his return from Washington was honored with a great reception by the sovereign State of the Union which he represents, on which occasion this determination was emphatically pronounced by his imperial constituents and responded to by himself. It is needless to speak of the vaporizing of Southern newspapers and politicians on this subject. A letter intended for private circulation found its way to the light, emanating from prominent Slaveholders in Charleston, reciting the fact of the publication of the National Era at the seat of government, and calling for the establishment of a national organ of Slavery at Washington, and the contribution of a fund of Fifty Thousand Dollars for that purpose. This demand for a national organ of Slavery spoke trumpet-tongued the sense which Slavery entertained of the work the Anti-Slavery organs have been doing. A stronger proof could hardly be given of the

impression made upon the general mind of the country by the Anti-Slavery movement, than the Charleston circular contains. It implies an admission of all that we could have demanded for ourselves. Its alarm at the establishment of the Era, to be sure, was no great proof of the sagacity of the writers. But, probably, none of them had seen a number of it; but took their notions of it from some floating newspaper paragraphs. Had they seen it, they would, very probably, have thought an organ of Slavery at the Capitol superfluous. Certainly none they could establish would treat Slavery and Slaveholders with more civility, or make larger demands in their behalf. *New Mexico* would probably have contented the chivalrous Carolinians; *all Mexico* is not too much for the supple servility of the Era to offer them! We heartily hope that this new organ may be set up and conducted with all the ability that the Slavery Party can furnish. And we should like to see the man who will have the courage to stand up before the world as its editor. We fear it will come to nought, if for no other reason, because any man of talent enough to be selected to be its editor, must be of sense enough to know that it would make him a by-word and a hissing to all foreign nations and to all future ages. The dirty work of Slavery will have still to be done, we apprehend, as it is done now, under the guise of Religion, of Abolition, or of Patriotism.

The Governor of Virginia, also, in his Annual Message of last year had the inhuman insolence to recommend it to the Legislature to take measures for the expulsion of the Free Blacks, Fifty Thousand in number, from the State. A Southern Convention for the purpose of taking measures for the protection of Southern rights from Northern fanaticism has been proposed and urged; but, we fear with little earnestness of purpose or reality of design. One branch of the legislature of Missouri passed a memorial to Congress asking for action on the part of the General Government, which would put an end to the emigration of the Slave population to Canada, and to the protection they there receive. The following humane argument forms a part of its reasoning, and would not fail to have its weight:

"The slaves that are recognized by our constitution and laws as individual property, are frequently lost, and the unfortunate

Slaves are decoyed into a cold and bleak region, utterly unsuited to their habits and constitutions,—are rendered more miserable and degraded than when they lived as Slaves."

These instances, out of multitudes like them, must suffice to indicate the impression which the Anti-Slavery movement has made upon the Southern mind. In these, as in all other portions of our experience and our observations, do we discern the proofs of the soundness of the philosophy, and the sufficiency of the method, which we have followed from the beginning. The process, thus far, has been precisely what we have anticipated and predicted that it would be. The signs for which we first looked were perceived where we looked for them, in the indications of an altered public sentiment at the North; but now we discern the progress we have made by those which the South afford, as to the impression made on human hearts and souls, there. Even in the very desperation of Pro-Slavery fanaticism, do we see the hand-writing of its destiny upon the walls of the Slave-Babylon. The violence of the antagonism we have aroused, is an evidence to us of the strength of our position, and the telling effect of our fire. The increasing armies of fugitives, assure us that the Slaves have heard the good tidings of the preached Gospel of their deliverance; while their almost absolute safety, as soon as they set their feet upon the soil of a Free State, is a living proof of the spreading influences of that Evangel of Freedom. In the view of this part of our experience, as of all its others, we thank God and take courage.

ENGLAND.

We have found the zeal and fidelity of the English Abolitionists in the cause of our common humanity in which we are engaged, during the past year, as earnest and intelligent as ever. Notwithstanding the calamity which has affected, more or less, all classes in the mother country, they have never suffered the nearer distress to hide from their eyes or their hearts the greater distant wrong. With a true philosophy as well as an expansive philanthropy have they endured in their efforts for the American Slave, believing that they were thus doing

substantial service to the English peasant. They have perceived that the greatest of wrongs is the first one to be redressed, before the lesser evils of an advanced civilization can be successfully combatted. This faith they have made manifest by their works, in their labors at home and in their dispensation of help to us.

The Evangelical Alliance, having received its death-blow at the moment of its birth from its suicidal attempt to take Slavery to its bosom, has dragged on a lingering existence, having a name to live though it be dead. We related, last year, how the British Branch at Manchester, after it was relieved from the fatal presence of the American brethren, so far yielded to the pressure of the Anti-Slavery spirit at home, as to refuse communion with Slaveholders in the British division of the Household of Faith, leaving the American Branch free to make such covenant with them as its spiritual necessities required. This, however, was not suffered to pass without a protest on the part of Englishmen, renewed in the spirit of their minds by the influences of American Christianity. In May last a document was presented to the Meeting of the British Branch, held at Edinburgh, signed by a number of clergymen and others, in London, expressing their dissent from that action. The document stated "that the resolution referred to had caused the dissentients much regret and anxiety, and in a spirit of humility, faithfulness, and love, they desired to lay before the Conference their objections to it. They objected to it, first, "as taking up a subject, which, however important, was wholly extraneous and under discussion, and that the Alliance would thereby involve itself in the discussion of a question with which it had, and should have, no concern. Second, that while they deeply deplored, in common with the Alliance, the sin and enormous evils connected with Slavery, they thought that a wide distinction should be drawn between the voluntary upholder of that system, and one who, from circumstances over which he might have no control, became possessed of Slaves, or property including Slaves. Third, and above all, because their deep regard for the form and authority of Scripture compelled them to object to the introduction of grounds of exclusion, which they believed were not warranted by the plain Word of

God, and which would have shut out from the Alliance one whom an inspired Apostle addressed as a brother dearly beloved. The memorialists also begged to express the fears they entertained as to the effect of the resolution upon the minds of their American brethren, whom they had so recently invited to cross the Atlantic to join them upon a purely doctrinal basis." The American brethren, therefore, may rejoice in knowing that their mission to the father-land was not wholly in vain, seeing that they have converted some from the error of their ways, and made them like unto themselves.

The demonstrations of the English Unitarians have been of an extremely interesting and honorable character, during the past year. An invitation which had been sent by certain Boston clergymen to their English brethren, to attend the May Anniversaries in this City, being communicated to the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the attitude of some of its signers to the Anti-Slavery enterprise became a subject of remark. Much discussion arose from this circumstance in the Unitarian papers on both sides of the Atlantic. Letters from John Bishop Estlin, Esq. of Bristol, and of the Rev. Samuel May, our General Agent, which appeared in the London Inquirer, threw much light upon the question of the relations of American Unitarians, and of those clergymen in particular, to the Slaves and their cause. In the course of the autumn a Reply was sent to this invitation, signed by more than fifty ministers and nearly sixteen hundred laymen, setting forth the true doctrine of the duties and responsibilities created by the existence of such a crime as Slavery, in the most cogent yet affectionate manner. We regret to say that this fraternal demonstration has not met with the courtesy due to its spirit and its tone, from those who speak the mind of the leading influences of the Denomination.

The North of England Unitarian Tract and Missionary Society also passed a resolution, strongly Anti-Slavery in its character, and urging upon their American brethren active exertions for the overthrow of Slavery. This resolution was transmitted by the Secretary, Rev. George Harris, to the Rev. Dr. Gannett, accompanied by a letter calculated to soothe the prejudices and to gratify the spleen of the Pro-Slavery American Unitarians.

But there is nothing that appears in the action itself of the meeting to justify us in supposing that it correctly represents the feelings by which it was prompted. We place, therefore, all the credit of the resolution to the account of the meeting, and all the discredit of the accompanying epistle, to its Reverend Secretary. We are happy to announce action, honorable though late, on the part of American Unitarian ministers in relation to the letter forwarded in January, 1846, of which we gave some account in a former Report, from the Irish Unitarian Christian Society to their brethren in America. A well written and justly conceived Response has lately been prepared and signed by eight ministers of this denomination, and forwarded to its destination. We trust that its character and thoroughness will make amends to the Irish friends for the dilatoriness of its appearance.

The Anti-Slavery League has been zealous and active in its coöperation with us during the past year, and we have been in frequent communication with its able and indefatigable Secretary, Robert Smith. Early in the year a large number of meetings were held in London and its neighborhood, in which George Thompson, William H. Ashurst, John Bowring, the Rev. Mr. Burnet, William Howitt, and other eminent English Abolitionists took a prominent part. At other times during the year, meetings were held in various parts of the country with distinguished success. Too much importance cannot be attributed to this association for binding the Abolitionists of the two hemispheres into one body, upon the thorough principle of "No Union with Slaveholders." We shall continue to look to it as the main instrumentality by which the two countries may be made mutually to act the one upon the other, for the emancipation of the American Slave.

The last year, too, has been a marked one in our annals from the election of George Thompson, that well-tried and faithful friend of the American Slave, to Parliament. The man who was hunted in the streets of Boston, and escaped with his life only by flight from the Pro-Slavery fanaticism of 1835, is now an honored member of the British Senate, as the representative of one of the largest constituencies in the United Kingdom. We have said that this is a marked point in our history because

we know that the increased power his new sphere of influence will give him over the British mind, will be felt in behalf of the oppressed nation, for whom he did and suffered so much in this country. Mr. Thompson's election was an unusual triumph. The two former members were in the field, one of them a member of the Cabinet and a son-in-law of the late King. Notwithstanding the weight which these gentlemen must have had from their social position, and their possession of the borough, Mr. Thompson led his successful competitor, Sir William Clay, by more than three thousand votes, and his unsuccessful one, General Fox, by nearly four thousand five hundred! Such an instance is almost unparalleled (if not quite) in the history of English elections. It is to be accounted for by the number of *plumpers* that were polled for Mr. Thompson; by which technicality we understand votes given for only one candidate where two or more are to be elected — thus increasing the relative vote of that candidate.

The friends of the old candidates had placarded the neighborhood with the insulting question, "Who is George Thompson?" His reply to this taunting inquiry, in his speech at the polls, was a proud and noble one: "Ask Sir Edward North Buxton," (the son of the successor of Wilberforce,) "ask Dr. Lushington, ask Richard Cobden, ask the Negroes of the West Indies, ask the Bond-Slaves of America, ask the friends of India, who I am?" The electors, however, showed most emphatically that they knew who he was, without going any farther for information.

The political opinions announced by Mr. Thompson were certainly radical enough. He should vote for the largest free trade, and for the abolition of every monopoly, national and local; for universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and short parliaments; for the abolition of capital punishments and of flogging in the army; and against all endowments and religious establishments! This election was carried without any of the unscrupulous means often used at elections. Not a single paid agent was employed. "Not the least remarkable circumstance attending this contest," says the London Post, "is the fact, that Mr. Thompson, who is a teetotaller, refused to have his Committee-rooms in public houses, and the publicans, with few exceptions, avenged themselves by voting against him."

Not long before the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Thompson addressed a large assembly of his constituents, for the purpose of laying before them the state of the East India question, and to ask their permission to make Justice to India the main business of his public life. His speech was one of masterly ability. It showed him to be possessed of the rare felicity of his great predecessor in the championship of wronged India,—Burke, of clothing statistical details not only with light, but with beauty. A large portion of it was devoted to the evolution of Mr. Thompson's views as to the effect which the reforms he proposes, acting through the English Cotton-Market, will have upon American Slavery. He traced the history of the culture and manufacture of cotton, and showed how almighty has been their influence in building up and perpetuating Slavery. He showed the resources of India for the production of this staple, and the practicability of increasing the crop to such an extent as to drive the American article out of the market. Cotton he conceives to be the main bulwark and defence of Slavery, and if it can be reduced below a living, if not a remunerative profit, that American Slavery will die of inanition. Thus, with the philosophy of Chatham, though in a different spirit, he proposes "to conquer America in India!" The views of such a friend to the Anti-Slavery Cause as Mr. Thompson has proved himself to be, on such a question as this, deserve the fullest and most respectful attention. And in saying this, we are sure we speak the mind of every sincere Abolitionist.

We anticipate a very great amount of good to our cause from the agitation of the British India question in the British Parliament, and before the British people. We believe that its agitation and its successful issue must have influences which cannot be even guessed at, upon the condition of our Slavery. Slavery, however, does not exist in the United States because of the *wealth* the Slaves produce; but because of the *power* which our Constitution of government gives to the masters in virtue of their ownership in them. We believe every intelligent Slaveholder knows that the wealth of the Slave States would be vastly increased by emancipation. But by that act the sceptre of political sovereignty would pass from them. The existence of Slavery gives to the compact aristocracy

formed by it, the absolute control of the whole machine of State, the appointment of Presidents, the making of laws, the dictation of policy. It is the means whereby they hold the keys of the Treasury of the Nation. When did an aristocracy ever resign the element which gave them their power, as long as they could hold on to it? The English aristocracy, doubtless, know that if the laws relating to land, by virtue of which they have in times past governed the Nation, and which still render them so potential in it, were abrogated, it would be for the general good of the people, and perhaps for their own wealth; but have they ever been willing, as a body, to relinquish any of the privileges which gave them their political supremacy, except upon strong compulsion? Much less an aristocracy founded on ownership in human flesh, and vastly farther removed from popular and political influences, than the landed aristocracy of England.

It is true that absolute starvation might bring the Slaveholders to terms; but it by no means follows that because the culture of cotton is the only profitable way of employing Slave labor, now, that no other way could be devised, should this fail. There are other tropical productions to which it may be turned. The resources of the earth are no more exhausted than those of the human mind. Perhaps a portion of it may yet be used in manufacturing raw material to be imported from India! Who knows? Stranger things have happened. The immensely increasing demand of our own country, too, will help to support the system here. At any rate, we may be assured, that as long as the Slaveholder can get labor enough out of his Slave to keep him alive, he will cling to his system. Wealth is but a very secondary consideration with him. The state of things is widely different now, from what it was at the point of time just preceding the introduction of cotton. Then it stood upon its own strength. Now, we have clothed it with our own. Then, it was a tottering institution, trembling to its fall. Now, we have propped it up with the whole physical and moral force of the whole country. Then, Slavery was *in extremis*, and there was none so poor as to do her reverence. Now, she can stand against the world, for we have placed the crown of our Republican sovereignty on her head and the sceptre of dominion in

her hand. Her attitude is a very different one now from what it was sixty years since. East India cotton will make one of the elements of her overthrow, we doubt not; but it will by no means be the only one. The very length of time required for the successful issue of that experiment will give so sagacious and wily a power as Slavery ample opportunity to provide for its own interests.

SCOTLAND.

The dealings of the faithful and tireless Abolitionists of Scotland with the recreant Free Church for its striking hands with men-stealers, have been maintained unflinchingly since we last gave an account of them. The Glasgow Emancipation Society, which Mr. Garrison has well described as "an honor to Scotland;" the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, which sprung into existence in the presence of that wickedness as its natural antagonist; and other bodies and individuals have been instant in season and out of season in this just and necessary work. Although the Pro-Slavery party in the Free Church has lost its leader, since our last Report, by the death of Dr. Chalmers, whose sectarian complicity with the Southern men-thieves has left a blot upon his fame which will endure as long as his memory lasts, still its zeal in the cause of Slaveholding fellowship seems to be undiminished under the guidance of its yet surviving blind guides, Drs. Candlish and Cunningham. We have the satisfaction of knowing, however, that the Free Church is feeling the effects of its crime and its blunder in the diminution of its influence and the loss of public respect and confidence.

The Rev. Dr. Ritchie and the Rev. Mr. Jeffreys distinguished themselves at the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, by the clearness of statement and eloquence of appeal with which they set forth the doings of the Free Church in the matter of Slavery, and exposed their wickedness. The Rev. Isaac Nelson, of Belfast, who is honorably remembered as one of the few found faithful at the meeting to form the Alliance, in London, delivered an Address at Glasgow and afterwards at Edinburgh, at the request of the Free Church Anti-

Slavery Society, on the relations of that Church to Slavery, and considering also the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance from the same point of view. This lecture has since been printed in a cheap form, and we trust has had the wide circulation which it deserves. In this good work these Abolitionists had the assistance for a portion of the year from our indomitable fellow-laborer, Henry C. Wright, whose labors in that behalf never flagged nor wearied as long as he remained upon the soil.

During this year, also, the Scottish people had an opportunity of examining for themselves a specimen of a class of which they had almost doubted the existence,—a minister of the Gospel who publicly justified Slavery on its merits, as a humane and Scriptural institution. This was the Rev. Alexander Campbell, of Virginia, well-known in his section of country, as the founder of a sect bearing his own name, who, in company with one like unto himself, visited Scotland for the pious purpose of instructing the inhabitants thereof in "Primitive Christianity" and "Christian Union." He displayed his real character, however, so palpably, at the very outset of his career at Edinburgh, that he was allowed no peace, thenceforward. Wherever he went his character had gone before him, and he found the walls placarded with warnings, to the people to beware of him, and champions ready to do battle for the right.

The Scottish Abolitionists, especially those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, deserve the thanks of the friends of the Slave everywhere, for the resolute and persevering manner in which they followed up and exposed this wolf in sheep's clothing that had stolen into their fold. The Rev. James Robertson, of Edinburgh, Secretary of the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, particularly distinguished himself by the diligence and zeal with which he gave himself to the chase of this unclean beast. He pursued him from city to city, and from all that appears, seems to have fairly hunted him out of the country.

We congratulate our Scottish friends upon the beneficial results that must flow from their fidelity in this matter. It has been a "strengthening occasion" to themselves as well as to us. We commend to their clear vision all who go among them with especial pretensions to holiness. The Anti-Slavery test is an excellent one to separate the gold from the dross,—the

precious from the vile. We entreat of them not to be weary in well-doing; but to continue faithful and fearless, as they have ever shown themselves, even to the end.

IRELAND.

Our friendly relations with the steadfast Abolitionists of Ireland remain unchanged, and the obligations of the cause to them for services and assistance of the most valuable character were never greater, than during the last year. Their clearness of comprehension of the state of things in this country, of the nature of the cause, and of the difficulties we have to encounter, is scarcely less distinct than our own. They have made themselves one with us, in an eminent degree, and we feel ourselves united to them by ties of no common strength. They have been assiduous as ever in their testimonies to Americans visiting their country, and have done their best to make it clear to all such that Slaveholders and Pro-Slavery men are not regarded as fit company for Irishmen. Out of the many faithful friends to whom we are indebted for these good works, it will not be invidious to mention the names of James Haughton and Richard D. Webb, as those of two of the chiepest among them. They are not wearied by the well-doing of their many years of Anti-Slavery coöperation with us, but remain as fresh in their zeal and labors as in the beginning.

Early in the year the first named of these gentlemen forwarded to us an "Address from the members of the Cuffe-Lane Temperance Society to their countrymen in America." It was brief, but of singular pith and moment; uttering, in glowing words, their sense of the guilt of Slaveholding or Pro-Slavery Irishmen in America, and a burning expostulation with them for their participation in that wickedness. It was signed by the Rev. Dr. Spratt, an eminent Catholic divine, who stands only second to Father Matthew in the affections and confidence of the Teetotallers of Ireland, and by nearly nine hundred others. This address was published as widely as our means permitted, and was exhibited at the Annual Meeting at New York, the New England Convention, and other Anti-Slavery assemblies,

to encourage the hearts of the beholders by the sight of this proof of Irish sympathy.

The supplies of food which were sent from America to Ireland, during the famine which afflicted that country, gave our Anti-Slavery friends there, an opportunity of expressing their abhorrence of Slaveholding. A portion of these funds coming from the Slaveholding States, the question was raised in the Relief Committee, at Dublin, whether they should be received or sent back. The Committee decided in favor of retaining them, our Anti-Slavery friend Richard Allen voting in the negative. This conduct on the part of the Committee, was condemned, we believe unanimously, by the Irish Abolitionists, as a partaking of the fruits of blood and wickedness. Without entering into the casuistry of the point in ethics, whether the money of wicked men may be received for good uses, the previous conduct of the Committee in refusing the proceeds of a benefit night at the Queen's Theatre, in London, rendered them fairly obnoxious to censure for criminal inconsistency of conduct. Having made a distinction between gifts, and refused the money of the Opera-House on account of the manner in which it was obtained, the receiving of the Slaveholding money was virtually an approval of the Slaveholding character. It was a public declaration that they considered public singing and dancing as a greater sin than the public selling of men, women and children by auction. At any rate, the public protestation of the Dublin Abolitionists against this action, at a time when the land was gaunt with famine and misery, was in the highest degree honorable to their moral courage and fidelity to principle.

The last year has been marked in the annals of Ireland, and of the world, by the death of the great O'Connell. This is no place to recount his history or to pronounce his eulogy. It is for others to tell of his labors in behalf of the great movements for the Relief of his Religion, for the Reform of Parliament, and for the Repeal of the Union. But to his earnestness in the cause of West Indian Emancipation, his readiness to denounce the Colonization Impostures when exposed to him by Mr. Garrison, his indignant contempt for Slaveholders and their apologists, and his consistent hatred of Slavery and readiness to coöperate with Abolitionists, we may be permitted to pay the tribute of

our admiration and gratitude. He died at Genoa, on the 15th of May, 1847, in the 72nd year of his age, while upon a pilgrimage to the metropolis of his ancient Faith, of which he was ever a zealous votary and a dutious son. But his frame was too much shattered by his toils and sufferings to permit him to reach the presence of the Head of his Church. Few men have left behind them a more famous name, or one that excites more opposite emotions in the hearers' minds. No man of his time was better hated and better loved than he. No man's character was submitted to such opposite constructions. But when the evil and the good that he has left behind him shall be pondered in the impartial balance of posterity, we believe that his services in the cause of civil and religious liberty, his recognition of moral power and the renunciation of violence and bloodshed of his later years, will be found to outweigh his errors, and that he will be recognized as among the foremost of the friends of mankind.

It would be ungrateful, before we leave the subject of our obligations to Ireland and Irishmen, not to record the pleasure and advantage which the Abolitionists of both sides of the Atlantic have enjoyed from the perusal of the Journal of Major John B. Colthurst, of Dripsey Castle, while acting as Special Magistrate, under the Apprenticeship Law, in the Island of Barbadoes. This work, which contains the best account we have ever yet seen of the transition state of the West India Islands and of the workings of the Apprenticeship System, was entrusted by its author to Mr. Garrison, at the time of his visit to the British Islands, in the year 1846, and has been for several months in the course of publication in the *Liberator*. It has excited much attention and interest, and we hope yet to see it in a more permanent form. At a meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 5th of October, 1847, the Mayor of Cork in the Chair, an Address was voted, and presented by a deputation, to this gentleman in acknowledgment to his services at that period of his life, expressing their abhorrence of the iniquity of the West India Immigration Scheme, and their sense of his interest in the American Anti-Slavery movement, as evinced by the furnishing of his journal for publication. To this Address Major Colthurst made an appropriate reply, con-

taining testimony on the subject of Slavery, Apprenticeship, Immigration, Compensation, &c., to which his experience and observation, as well as his personal character, give the highest value.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Since our last Report we have had the pleasure of welcoming back to the scene of his earlier labors our friend and fellow-laborer, Frederick Douglass, after an Anti-Slavery residence in the British Islands of nearly two years. We have expressed in former Reports our sense of his eminent services to our cause, while thus occupied. He has left a deep impression upon the public mind of those countries by his public and private efforts for the promotion of the Abolition of American Slavery. His condition as a fugitive Slave, and the fame that went before him, attracted a degree of attention and of expectation, which his talent, eloquence, and private excellence, more than answered and gratified. His public labors were continued in various parts of the country up to the time of his departure, and with an increasing general interest in him and them. On the evening of the 30th of March, a farewell *soirée* was given to Mr. Douglass, in London, at the London Tavern, at which Mr. Thompson presided, and at which many of the most distinguished persons connected with the Anti-Slavery movement assisted. On this festive occasion Mr. Douglass took his leave of his friends and of Great Britain, in a speech replete with sensibility and eloquence.

Mr. Douglass proceeded to Liverpool, to sail for Boston in the Cambria, on the 4th of April, in which steamer he had engaged and paid for a cabin passage. Almost at the moment of sailing, however, he was informed that his berth was given to another, and that he could not be allowed to proceed in the vessel except on condition of exclusion from an equality of privileges with the other passengers. Mr. Douglass was compelled by the shortness of time for consultation and consideration to submit to these terms; although there is no doubt that he could have recovered exemplary damages of the Company had he been able and disposed to remain for the purpose of prosecuting a

suit at law. He addressed a letter, however, stating the facts to the Liverpool Mercury, which called forth a loud and unequivocal burst of indignation from almost every press in Great Britain, from the London Times, downwards. The effect of this expression of opinion was a public communication from Mr. Cunard, himself, disclaiming the proceedings of his agents, and pledging himself that a like occurrence should never happen again. The captain of the Cambria did everything in his power to make Mr. Douglass's passage agreeable, resigning his own state-room for his accommodation, and he met with much attention from many of his fellow-passengers. But this was, after all, only gilding the chains which the Company's agents had fastened upon his limbs, in compliance with the base and cruel prejudice of their American customers.

Mr. Douglass was joyfully welcomed by his many friends in this country upon his arrival. On the 23d of April, a Reception Meeting was held at the Lyceum Hall, in Lynn, his place of residence at that time, which was addressed by Messrs. Garrison and Buffum, as well as by Mr. Douglass. On the evening of May 3d, a great Meeting of Welcome was held in the Belknap Street Church, which gave Mr. Douglass an enthusiastic reception. It was addressed by the chairman,—Mr. Nell, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wendell Phillips, and several other gentlemen, and had the greatest possible success. Subsequently, at the time of the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at New York, there was a meeting of the colored people held for the same purpose, which was in the highest degree animated and enthusiastic.

Mr. Douglass was not permitted to leave England without substantial proofs of the regard of his English friends. The circumstance that he was still, in the eye of American law, a Slave for whom there was no city of refuge on the American soil, suggested to some of them the fitness of their suing out his patent of American citizenship, by paying the price of his head. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with his owner, and he was redeemed from his captivity. This transaction has raised questions, both as to its propriety and expediency, among the best friends of Mr. Douglass, and of the Slave, into which we do not propose to enter. But no one can

question the benevolent spirit which prompted this measure on the part of the British Abolitionists. Besides this instance of their liberality, however, a sum of money amounting to nearly £500, was raised for the purpose of purchasing a press and types to enable Mr. Douglass to establish a newspaper, as the organ of the colored people. Upon consultation with his friends here, however, he decided on abandoning, or postponing, this plan; and the amount contributed, was remitted in money. But on accompanying Mr. Garrison in his tour to Ohio, of which we shall presently speak, he found a state of things existing which seemed to him to warrant the experiment. He has, accordingly, established himself at Rochester, N. Y., and commenced the publication of the North Star, with the beginning of the present year.

Although it is a question upon which his friends will continue to entertain different opinions, whether or not this is the way in which the great talents of Mr. Douglass may be best exerted for the redemption of the Slave; still it can be no question whether a newspaper conducted with the ability which will be sure to mark the North Star, and informed by the uncompromising spirit of hostility to Pro-Slavery, in Church and in State, whether it assume the name and shape of Anti-Slavery, or appear in its own proper garb, can fail to be a potent instrumentality for good. His services must be great and important, be they rendered in what shape they may, and his influence cannot but be widely felt, let it be put forth in whatever direction he may think best. We shall heartily regret, in common with all his other personal and Anti-Slavery friends, in New England, his removal to so great a distance. But we shall endeavor to check whatever is selfish in this feeling, by the recollection that the field of such a reaper is the world, and that, be he where he may, he must needs find, or make a harvest. He will be followed to his new home, and his new sphere of usefulness, by the ardent good wishes and the confident hopes of his many friends, in this his first home of freedom. We believe that they will all be glad to do what they may to further his plans, and to make them as successful as he can desire. It will ever rejoice their hearts to hear of his usefulness and prosperity. And it will be their unanimous wish

and hope that this change of abode and variation of pursuit, may be in the highest degree conducive to the one and to the other.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Anniversary of the National Society was held at New York, in the Tabernacle, on Tuesday, May 11, Mr. Garrison, the President, in the chair. The audience was unusually large and exceedingly attentive. It was addressed at length by Mr. Wendell Phillips and Mr. Douglass, whose reception was gratifying in the highest degree. Mr. Garrison introduced Mr. Douglass in a speech which told of the difference between the treatment he had received from the people of Great Britain and that which awaited him on these shores. The speeches of Messrs. Phillips and Douglass were of the very highest order of their respective styles of oratory, and were greatly effective.

The business meetings were held at the Apollo Rooms, and continued through the usual three days. The attendance was unusually large, and the spirit and zeal evinced of the most encouraging nature. The principles of the Society were reaffirmed, its position as to State and Church defined anew, the principal events of the previous year briefly characterized, spurious Abolitionism exposed, our obligations to the living and the dead of other lands recognized, and the whole Anti-Slavery field brought within the range of its action. Plans of operations were discussed, and funds raised and pledged to carry them into effect. Evening meetings were, for the first time, held, and with the best effect. An occasional interruption, through the tact and courtesy of the meeting and its officers, was made only to increase the interest of the occasion. Friends were present from distant parts of the Union, among whom we were rejoiced to greet the Rev. James W. Walker, of Ohio, whose abandonment of the Third Party, and his fidelity in his ecclesiastical relations, had prepared us to honor . n. The meeting was admitted to be, on all hands, one of the most spirited and animating that we have ever held.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONVENTION.

The last Convention, which bears the name of New England, but which is in fact one of the truest Anti-Slavery spirits of the whole country, was no whit behind any of its predecessors in any good words or works. It occurs during a week of anniversaries, every hour of which is filled up with those of various sectarian bodies and benevolent associations; yet there is none of them, nor all of them put together, that excites so much interest and conversation, as the sessions of the New England Convention. A better one was never held, as far as its numbers and character, and the quality of the speaking were concerned, than this. It was held in the Hall formerly the Marlboro' Chapel, but recently occupied by the Chinese Museum, which, though spacious in its accommodations, was uncomfortable to the audience, and difficult for the speakers, owing to its dismantled condition. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the hall was thronged to its utmost capacity, and the speaking could hardly have been better under the most favorable circumstances. Besides Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Remond, Pillsbury, Foster, W. H. Channing, Theodore Parker, Stetson and others of the speakers to whose words we are accustomed to listen, we were for the first time in this Convention, cheered by the voices of Mrs. Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, of Mrs. Jane Elizabeth Jones, of Ohio, and Mr. William W. Brown, (a fugitive Slave,) recently of New York. The effect upon the great numbers that, at various times, were present, must have been of an arousing and suggestive nature.

The Convention was made especially rememberable to those who have been in the habit of attending these assemblies in former years, by its being the last time in which we looked upon the venerable presence and listened to the honored voice of SETH SPRAGUE. This Anti-Slavery patriarch availed himself of this last interview with the friends with whom he had acted for so many years, to express his entire consent to the doctrine of "No Union with Slaveholders," which he had never done before in its fullest extent. His last words were words of blessing and encouragement. He went from this assembly to his death-bed, leaving a precious memory behind him.

The evening sessions of the Convention were not without the testimony to the popular idea of the rights of Abolitionists, that is borne by Pro-Slavery disturbance. Riotous demonstrations were made upon the two last evenings of the Convention, which, to some extent, interrupted the proceedings. They were overborne, however, by the patience of the audience and the power of the speakers. In despite of the rioters, the severest things that could be said on Church and State, by Mr. Remond and Mr. Pillsbury, were heard, and Mr. Phillips closed the last evening, as he had done the previous one, with a speech which was heard from the beginning to the end, and gave a golden conclusion to the whole matter.

The chief drawback upon the satisfactions of the Convention was the absence of Frederick Douglass, whom multitudes were anxiously expecting to hear on this occasion, for the first time since his return home. He had been elected President of the Convention, but was unable to take his seat, or indeed to attend any of the sessions, being confined to his house by severe illness. His presence was all that was necessary to have made the occasion one of unqualified satisfaction to all in attendance.

ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

During the first part of this year the operations in this State were under the direction of Mr. Loring Moody, our General Agent, besides whose own services we had those of Messrs. Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and Addison Davis, by whom meetings were held and Conventions attended, in various parts of the State, and with excellent effect. Shortly before the New England Convention, Messrs. Joseph C. Hathaway, Charles L. Remond, and William W. Brown came into the State, and we enjoyed the advantage of the services of the two former gentlemen until they were removed to Western New York, and of the latter throughout the year. The labors of Mr. Brown have been eminently acceptable and useful, wherever they have been exerted.

Mr. Moody having resigned his post as General Agent shortly before the New England Convention, and the Board subsequently finding that the services of the Rev. Samuel May, of

Leicester, could be secured for that duty, he received the appointment and entered upon his duties in the month of June. The services of this gentleman have been of a very various and valuable description. The ability, industry and thorough fidelity and devotion to the cause, which had always marked his character, and which had made us desirous of securing his assistance in this capacity, have been displayed in the discharge of his office in a manner to secure the esteem and confidence of all with whom he has had to do. He has conducted our operations with efficiency and economy, and made our small supplies of men and money go as far as they possibly could. We trust that we may long enjoy the benefit of his services. We have been fortunate enough, too, to retain the assistance of Mr. Moody, who has acted for the chief of the time since he relinquished the General Agency, as a financial Agent, with assiduity and success.

Mr. May and our other agents have been almost continually in the field, lecturing, holding serial meetings, attending Conventions and meetings of County Societies, procuring subscribers to Anti-Slavery papers, selling Anti-Slavery publications, collecting money, and otherwise laboring in their vocation. In these labors they have had the occasional assistance of Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, Buffum, Increase S. Smith, Bliss, Watson, (a fugitive from Slavery,) and other volunteers. Mr. Pillsbury has been in the field, with great success, during nearly the whole of the year, and Mr Douglass and Mr. Foster for portions of it. The amount of Anti-Slavery work done, considering the means at our disposal, we believe will compare favorably with the result of any former year.

Early in the summer President Polk visited Boston, upon a tour to the Eastern States. We felt it to be incumbent upon us as your representatives, and the representatives of the Slaves, to make the same demand of him that we had addressed to his predecessor, John Tyler, on the occasion of his Bunker's Hill visit,—that he should **EMANCIPATE HIS SLAVES!** Accordingly, an Address was prepared by our direction, by Mr. Garrison, to this effect, brief, cogent and impressive, and proper measures were taken to obtain an opportunity of presenting it to him. We hardly need say that no such opportunity was afforded us.

But we have no doubt that the letter requesting the interview, enclosing a copy of the Address, reached his hands;— so that, substantially, our purpose was answered, as well as our duty done.

Towards the close of the year, we prepared a Memorial to the Legislature, requesting that body "immediately to call a Convention of the people of this Commonwealth, to determine what measures shall be taken for protecting their rights and liberties, and for a peaceful SECESSION FROM THE AMERICAN UNION," for sundry reasons immediately following. This memorial we have scattered widely through the State, accompanied by a circular, urging upon those to whom they were sent, to procure as many signatures as possible in their neighborhoods, for the purpose of being laid before the General Court, at its present session. In this work we earnestly ask your active coöperation. We believe that a great number of names can be obtained to these petitions, sufficient to secure a respectful consideration of them in the legislature, and to draw the attention of the country to the subject. We trust that no time may be lost in despatching this urgent and necessary work.

In other parts of the country the Anti-Slavery agitation has been kept alive by the well-tried instrumentalities of the press and the voice. The National Anti-Slavery Standard has maintained the high character for ability, thoroughness and literary excellence which its present editor has impressed upon it, since he has had it under his charge. The Pennsylvania Freeman, under the direction of a committee of the Eastern Pennsylvanian Anti-Slavery Society, and the Anti-Slavery Bugle, in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Jones, have maintained their hold upon the confidence of the Abolitionists of their several States and of the country at large. In New York the American Society maintained an agency under the direction of Mr. Hathaway, mainly for the purpose of procuring subscribers to the Standard, from early in the summer until the close of the year. Besides Mr. Hathaway, Messrs. Remond, Hudson, Lewis Hayden, Nelson Bostwick, Stebbins, J. C. Holley have been employed in that field. Dr. Hudson and Mr. Hayden are still engaged in this portion of the country, upon the same mission, and we believe with encouraging success. In Pennsylvania the Messrs. Burleigh, assisted occasionally by Mrs. Mott and other friends, and in Ohio, Mr. and Mrs. Jones,

Messrs. Brooke, Bassett, J. W. Walker, H. W. Curtis, V. Nicholson, N. Selby and others, have borne up the testimony of the American Anti-Slavery Society of "No Union with Slave-holders!" The fight has been well fought, and the faith well maintained, as far as our knowledge extends, wherever the true cross has been assumed and the true faith received. We believe that the genuine Anti-Slavery Movement never occupied firmer or higher ground than it does at the opening of the present year. May its close bear witness to a loftier position, won by a purer consecration of our lives and labors to the Great Principle and Purpose which binds us together!

PUBLICATIONS.

Last spring, Mr. Wendell Phillips collected in a pamphlet the papers which he had prepared for the Standard, in reply to the work of Mr. Lysander Spooner upon the Unconstitutionality of Slavery. The ingenious sophistry of Mr. Spooner was of no consequence, excepting in as far as it was made the means of blinding the eyes of persons unaccustomed to the construction of laws, and of reconciling them to give their support to the chief political bulwark of Slavery, under the delusive idea that it might be made an instrument of its destruction. It is no easy task to prove an axiom, and that which Mr. Phillips had undertaken was little less than this. It was like endeavoring to refute an antagonist who should maintain that there is no regal or aristocratic element in the British Constitution. Mr. Phillips, however, performed his task with great acuteness, learning and wit, which must prevent the necessity of the work ever being done again. He published this edition of five thousand copies, at his own expense, and presented it to the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies. The demand for the work in Ohio and New York, the chief fields of the late Liberty Party, has, we believe, nearly exhausted the edition. But the abandonment of the doctrine of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution, by the Convention at Buffalo, which virtually dissolved it by adopting the nomination of the Independent Democrats, having removed the bane, has done away with the necessity of the antidote. Another edition will not, therefore be published at present.

Later in the year, William W. Brown published the Narrative of his Life, while in Slavery and since his escape. His story was deeply interesting and well told. It was of a nature to arouse attention to the character of the system under which he had suffered, and to excite a yet stronger detestation of it. It has been an instrumentality of great good to the cause to which the author has devoted himself, his experience and his talents. We are happy to learn that the first edition having been exhausted in a few months, Mr. Brown has issued a new and enlarged edition of his Narrative, with an Appendix. We commend it to all Abolitionists as a most effectual medium for the dissemination of the knowledge of the facts of Slavery among the people.

FOURTH OF JULY AND FIRST OF AUGUST.

The holiday afforded by the Fourth of July, was devoted to a better purpose than the exaggeration of our National character and pretensions, by the members of this Society. An Anti-Slavery pic-nic was held, under the auspices of this Board, in a beautiful grove in Waltham, and attended by large numbers from the city and surrounding country. The weather was delightfully propitious. The audience was addressed by Messrs. Garrison, W. I. Bowditch, Buffum, White, Weiss, Stetson, W. H. Channing, Brown, and other gentlemen. A voluntary choir increased the interest and effect of the oceasion by their Anti-Slavery songs. The success of the occasion was entire. The day was also appropriately observed at Plymouth, Princeton, and other places.

The First of August, however, has long since succeeded to the place of the Fourth of July in the regard of all lovers of impartial liberty, as the true jubilee of Freedom. The First occurring on Sunday, arrangements were made by us for holding an open air meeting in Tenean Grove, in Dorchester, on the day preceding. Unfortunately, the weather proved most unpropitious, and compelled the meeting to hold its sessions in the vestry of a neighboring church, besides curtailing it of its fair proportions. A goodly and increasing audience assembled, however, which was addressed by Messrs. May, Brown, Buffum, Quiney, Pillsbury, Garrison, Bowditch, Moody, and others. In the afternoon, the

numbers assembled, and the improved state of the weather, rendered an adjournment to the grove convenient, as well as possible, and the meeting terminated in the most prosperous manner.

The day was also duly celebrated at Worcester and at New Bedford, on Sunday; and on Monday the colored citizens of Boston evinced their joyful sense of the event of which it was the Anniversary, by a procession through the city, and a dinner in a neighboring town. The respectability of the appearance of the procession excited general remark on the part of all spectators, and the entire respect which was paid to it by the crowded streets, so different from the disgraceful demonstrations of a quarter of a century ago, was a proof that if the modern abolition movement has done nothing else, it has improved the condition of the free man of color among ourselves.

MR. GARRISON'S VISIT TO THE WEST.

The last year was made a memorable one to the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania and Ohio by a brief visit of Mr. Garrison, which was well filled with Anti-Slavery labor, as long as he continued in those States. We regret that we shall not be able to do more than indicate the line of his meetings, without going into the details of their triumphant success. Immediately after the meeting on the first of August, Mr. Garrison proceeded to Norristown, Pa., to attend the Annual Meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. This meeting lasted three days and was attended by great throngs of people. The presence of Mr. Douglass helped to swell the interest and the enthusiasm of the occasion. Thence Mr. Garrison, accompanied by Mr. Douglass, proceeded to Harrisburg, the capital of the State, the inhabitants of which distinguished themselves by a mob, which broke up the meeting in a riotous and disgraceful manner. At Pittsburg, however, he met with the warmest of welcomes, and his meetings were brilliantly successful. From Pittsburgh Mr. Garrison and his companion proceeded to New Lyme, Ohio, where the Annual Meeting of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society was held. This anniversary was greatly successful, many persons having travelled hundreds of miles to

attend it, and to see the face and hear the voice of which they had heard so much. Meetings were subsequently held at Painesville, Munson, Twinsburg, Oberlin, Massillon, Leesburg, New Lisbon, Warren, Ravenna, Cleveland, and other places. These meetings were of the most exciting and animated character. Thousands and tens of thousands collected to hear the words of Anti-Slavery Truth from the lips of the Pioneer of the Anti-Slavery Movement. A degree of enthusiasm was evinced almost unknown in these more phlegmatic regions, and an amount of good must have been done, incalculable in extent and degree. Besides the assistance of Mr. Douglass, Mr. Garrison derived great help from that of Samuel Brooke, Dr. Richmond, Dr. Peck, Lucretia Mott, and many other eloquent and efficient friends.

The last meeting in Ohio was held at Cleveland, on the 11th and 12th of September, and was a fitting termination to the brilliant series. But it was also, unfortunately, the conclusion of Mr. Garrison's services in the field, for that season. Such a number of public meetings, held at considerable distances from each other, of so exciting and fatiguing a character, with all the exposures incidental to travel and open-air meetings, combined to terminate his career suddenly, by a very severe and alarming illness. By this disorder he was confined at Cleveland until the 21st of October, when he set out on his homeward journey, in company with Henry C. Wright, who had most kindly joined him, upon hearing of his dangerous condition. He arrived at home on the 28th, but was not sufficiently recovered from his prostrating disease to resume his public duties until the beginning of the present year. We have to acknowledge, on behalf of the Cause, the deep obligations to which the Abolitionists of this country and of the world are placed to Mr. Thomas Jones, of Cleveland, for the fraternal hospitality and attentions he extended to Mr. Garrison, while his guest; to Mr. Brooke, Mr. Wright, Mr. Foster, and the multitude of kind friends besides, in Cleveland, who did all in their power to promote his comfort and his recovery. We regard them as deserving of more than a private and particular gratitude. Their ministrations were services of the highest nature rendered to the Cause itself.

RETURN OF HENRY C. WRIGHT.

The last year has been marked in our Anti-Slavery Annals by the return to his native land of Henry C. Wright, after an absence of five years. He took leave of his multitudes of friends in the British Islands in a most interesting and touching letter addressed to the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and sailed from Liverpool on the 19th of August, arriving at Boston early in September. The years he spent abroad were well bestowed for the promotion of the various great movements for the amelioration of human condition to which he has devoted his life. The agitation which is shaking the Free Church of Scotland, arising from the taint of the blood-money, is largely due to his uncompromising and faithful testimonies and labors. The Anti-Slavery flame was perpetually fanned and fed by his words and works, and the hearts and hands of our many friends in Great Britain and Ireland encouraged and strengthened by his intelligent zeal and perfect mastership of the subject. The great doctrine of the Treatment of Enemies, demanded by the highest Morality and the truest Expediency, also received a wider attention and a deeper consideration than had ever before been given to it. The Cause of Temperance, too, found in him a constant and consistent champion.

But the World is the field of an expansive nature like that of Mr. Wright, and he will be welcomed back to this portion of it by all who desire to see it fruitful of good things. A sturdy husbandman, like him, can never find himself where work is not to be done. And surely, there is nowhere that needs the tillth and husbandry of the most stalwart laborers more than this corner of the Vineyard. It was this view of things that made his many friends and admirers in the Old World willing, though sad, to give him the God-speed when he turned his face towards his native land. He had done them good service, but they saw that there were others in at least equal need with themselves, crying to him, "Come over and help us!" His presence with us; after his abode with them, will make another link in the silver chain that binds the Abolitionists of the two hemispheres together, and makes them of one mind and of one heart:

THE NATION AND SLAVERY.

The past year has been fraught, as has every one that has preceded it in its flight, with proofs that one main purpose of our national existence is the protection of Slavery. The President, in his speech from the throne, speaks the words which she has put into his mouth. The Massachusetts Minister at the Court of St. James applies his best energies to the relief of the Tobacco Interest. The President calls upon Congress to compensate Ruiz and Montez for the loss they had suffered through the successful rising of their African victims, which even a Slaveholding United States Bench had pronounced justifiable. And that no public evidence of our National infamy might be wanting, but that we might be condemned of all nations out of our own mouths, the Washington "Union," the Organ of the Administration, of July 3d, contained an advertisement, offering for sale to the highest bidder, on the 13th. of July instant, the following property, viz.

"One Negro Woman, named Elizabeth, about the age of sixty years; and one Negro Girl, named Caroline, about the age of twenty years,—seized and levied upon as the property of Henry Miller, and sold to satisfy *Judicials*, No. 22, October term, 1847, *in favor of the Post Master General*; also, *Judicials*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, to June term, 1847, *in favor of the United States*, and against said Henry Miller.

ALEXANDER HUNTER,

Marshal of the District of Columbia."

The sale took place, and the proceeds thereof were placed in the Treasury of the American People! The time of this transaction was well chosen. The announcement appeared on the eve of the great Feast of the Declaration of Independence, and the sale was consummated while the atmosphere yet reeked with the fulsome breath of patriotic orators bragging of Liberty and Equal Rights! Are we not, indeed, a nation of Slaveholders, and is there any immunity to be purchased for any of us except by the cancelling of the bond sealed with our brother's blood?

The Judicial Authorities of the Nation have also shown themselves intelligent and fit depositaries of the trust reposed in

them, of guarding the sanctity of Slavery. Last winter the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced judgment in a case which had gone up on a *pro forma* division of opinion in the Court below, in which it reaffirmed its decision in the infamous "Prigg Case," better known as "Judge Story's Decision." The action was one brought under the Act of 1793, the constitutionality of which was established by that decision, by one Jones, against Isaac Van Zandt, of Ohio, for the penalty of five hundred dollars, for concealing and harboring a Fugitive Slave. The verdict of the jury and the decision of the Court of ultimate appeal was against the humane defendant, who did not long survive the decree, but found a refuge in the grave from the vexations and embarrassments which his country visited upon him for hiding the outcast. As in the Prigg Case, the New England Judge was made the mouth-piece of this exposition of the protection given by our Constitution and Laws to human rights. Mr. Justice Woodbury pronounced the opinion of the Court, which affirms that "the Constitution itself flings its shield, for security, over such property as is in controversy in the present case," and that Slavery "is one of its sacred Compromises"! The opinion concludes thus:

"Whatever may be the theoretical opinions of any as to the expediency of some of these Compromises, or of the right of property in persons which they recognize, this Court has no alternative, while they exist, but to stand by the Constitution and the Laws with fidelity to their duties and their oaths"!

Within the short time that has elapsed since this decision was made known, as many as three or four actions, in as many different States, have been prosecuted to a successful issue by Slaveholders, against persons whose humanity had led them to give shelter or assistance to Slaves. And these actions will, undoubtedly, be multiplied in years to come. Besides the judicial comfort which this recognition and publication of a law, supposed to be obsolete, has given to the man-stealer, the past year has borne witness to the truth of our predictions as to the practical operation of "Judge Story's Decision." Under that decision, within the last twelve months, in numerous instances, persons not proved to be Slaves, and in one or two, persons known to be free, have been seized and carried into hopeless

captivity. By that decision the Slaveholder may seize and carry back his Slave, without any legal process, if he can do it without a breach of the peace. Consequently, the personal liberty of every black man, and of every white man, too, is placed at the mercy of a successful irruption of kidnappers. Well has that decision been described as "*infamous!*" An infamous exposition of an accursed Compact!

SLAVES AT THE NORTH.

Notwithstanding this protection given to Slavery by the Constitution and the Laws, we are happy to know that the ranks of the Emigration from the South are yearly swelling their numbers. And, in spite of the terrors of the law, resistance has been repeatedly made to attempts to re-capture Slaves, in one case terminating in the death of one of the kidnappers. A breach of the peace is a thing not to be desired; but when a breach of the peace is made a necessary preliminary to a process for discovering whether a man belongs to himself or another, the law which requires it should bear the blame.

In the course of the last summer a Brazilian ship brought to this country three Slaves as a portion of its crew. Being desirous of obtaining their liberty, a Writ of Habeas Corpus was sued out, and attempts made to secure their rights according to law. We have not room to recount all the various steps, backward and forward, in this business, and the most extraordinary decisions of the New York Judges. At last, however, the Gordian knot was cut, by the Slaves suddenly disappearing from the gaol in which they were detained. As they were, according to the last decision of the last Judge that had to do with them, in the custody of the Captain, no criminal offense was committed on the part of any persons privy to the escape. In the eye of our law, it was a simple desertion of seamen. At any rate, the Brazilian Captain had to depart without them; but we are happy to have reason to believe that they have not suffered by their change of country and condition. Mr. John Jay, their Counsel, distinguished himself by his professional labors in their behalf, and Mr. Gay and Mr. Elias Smith are deserving of great credit for their services in the same cause.

FOREIGN EMANCIPATION.

Since our last Report we have been favored with the sight of the Proclamation issued by the Bey of Tunis, whereby he abolishes Slavery forever, in his dominions. As this rebuke to American Republicanism and Christianity by a Mahometan Despot is not long, we copy it entire.

"From the Servant of God, the Mushir Ahmed Basha Bey, Prince of the Tunisian Dominions,

To our Ally, Sir Thomas Reade, Consul-General of the British Government at Tunis.

The servitude imposed on a part of the human kind, whom God has created, is a very eruel thing, and our heart shrinks from it.

It never ceased to be the object of our attention for years past, which we employed in adopting such proper means as could bring us to its extirpation, is well known to you.

Now, therefore, we have thought proper to publish that we have abolished Men's Slavery in all our dominions, inasmueh as we regard all Slaves who are on our territory as free, and do not reeognize the legality of their being kept as a property.

We have sent the necessary orders to all the Governors of our Tunisian Kingdom, and inform you thereof, in order that you may know that all Slaves that shall touch our territory, by sea or by land, shall beeome free.

May you live under the protection of God !

Written in Moharrem, 1262, (23d January, 1846.)

And yet another example has been set to Man-stealing America by a despotic Prince of Europe. The Kings of the North shall rise up in judgment against this nation and condemn it ! Action, which we have long known to have been in contemplation, has at length been taken. Aecounts from St. Thomas, to the 24th of September, inform us that a Royal Decree has been issued, proelaiming the Abolition of Slavery in the Danish Colonies. All Slaves under sixteen years of age are declared absolutely free, from the 18th of September. Those above that age are to be held in the condition of Apprentices for four years from that time.

The 18th of September is the birth-day of the "Royal Dane," who has thus wisely connected the new birth of this portion of his subjects into reeognized humanity, with his own natal day.

King Christian,—for such is his style,—has certainly vindicated his right to his baptismal appellation. He has made his reign illustrious in the annals,—not of his kingdom only, but of the world. He has given a much better argument for despotic power, than was ever urged by American Statesman or Doctor in Divinity. He is truly, as the Emperor Alexander said to Madame DeStael, of himself, “a happy accident.”

We are sorry that he has annexed the vexatious and mischievous condition of apprenticeship, to any part of his boon of liberty. Four years is too much of life to be taken from a man. We wish he had dissolved the whole enchantment at once. But could he be expected to be wiser in this matter than his kindred England? We prophecy, however, that the term of apprenticeship will be greatly abbreviated, if it be accepted at all, by the planters themselves. Perhaps the condition was added, that the masters might have an opportunity of sharing in the act of grace, by relinquishing their claims to the qualified servitude of their former slaves. It is hardly possible they can fail to have profited by this part of the experience of the neighboring British Islands. At any rate, Slavery will soon be blotted from the dominions of another power. An absolute Northern Monarch and a Barbary Bey have followed the wise example of the “fast-anchored Isle.” France will soon follow. Spain cannot long delay. The iron shroud will in time close upon our own republican despotism. Three of the windows of its hope are already vanished. Its night of death is at hand.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIRS.

Again has the Anti-Slavery Cause to thank the women of America and of the British Islands for the help they have brought to it. The Fourteenth National Bazaar surpassed any of its predecessors in the beauty and value of its stores, and equalled the most prosperous of them in its result. This circumstance, in view of the fact that the pecuniary pressure of the times was such as had hardly ever been known before, was justly considered as triumphant success. The indefatigable Anti-Slavery women of England, Scotland and Ireland, again evinced the largeness of their views and the Catholicity of their benevolence,

by the gifts of unsurpassed beauty and value, which they poured into the treasury of the Slave. This, in view of the extraordinary drain upon their means for the relief of their suffering countrymen, was a touching evidence of the sincerity of their sympathy with the American Slave and of the clearness of their perception of the depths of degradation in which he is plunged, far below the lowest deep of European poverty and oppression. The labors of their American sisters were also put forth with increased energy and zeal, which showed that their motive-power is a principle and not a sentiment,—that they have taken up the Cross of this Reform, with an intelligent and abiding purpose, to lay it down only at the hour of victory.

The hall was decorated with consummate taste and skill, and in the evenings resounded with the eloquence of the choicest Anti-Slavery spirits. On one evening, Henry C. Wright illustrated his speech concerning the Anti-Slavery spirit of the British Islands by appealing to the Address of FORTY THOUSAND women of Scotland, which he had brought home with him on his return. The endless line of signatures was festooned around the ample walls, which yet did not afford room enough for a full display of them. It remained until the close of the Bazaar, and was an object of much curiosity to visitors and of much interest and encouragement to friends.

Fairs were also held at Weymouth, New-Bedford and elsewhere in this State, and at Philadelphia, New Lyme, in Ohio, West Winfield and Rochester, in New York, and various other places in different States, and in all with excellent success.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The last year has been one of no little ferment in the political parties which divide among themselves the citizens of this Republic. The approach of the time when another President is to be made has had the usual effect of making the Political cauldron seethe and bubble, and the usual agitation of the scum which naturally rises to its surface. Neither of the great parties has, as yet, selected the man whom it would choose to reign over us, when the days of Mr. Polk are numbered. But the manœuvres of both, preliminary to the impending campaign, sufficiently indi-

cate the character of the tactics by which its results will be determined. The potential voice of the Slave Power must be listened to by both. Neither is ready to take a stand which might make it independent of that supreme influence. They will still vie in their endeavors, each with the other, to secure the support, which, in the present organization of parties, can alone give them the victory. It is only over the prostrate body of the Slave that either can hope to reach the high places of power and patronage.

Though no regular nominations have been made, there has been no lack of aspirants to the chair of State. General Taylor, Mr. Clay, General Cass, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Benton, Mr. Corwin, Mr. Webster, Judge Woodbury, and other politicians have been put forward by State Legislatures, Party Conventions, or individual nomination, as suitable incumbents of that high position. The Mexican War has been, in effect, but a preparatory skirmish which is to usher in this grand battle. Both parties, and all candidates are striving so to use it as to make it ancillary to their own objects. And there is no reason to hope, that either, or any, will be scrupulous as to the attitude they assume in this regard, so it will improve their chances for success. No considerable body of men is ready to risk the prospects of the parties with which they are identified, by making a decided stand against the shedding of our brother's blood or the plunder of his lands for the purposes of Slavery. Vague and general declarations there are enough, and there is an honorable minority of both parties determined to be faithful in this behalf, but a resolute purpose, pervading any considerable portion of either, to hazard all upon the stake of Liberty or Slavery, is nowhere to be discerned.

Last September, the Whigs of Massachusetts held a Convention at Springfield, for the ostensible purpose of selecting a candidate for Governor of the State; but really, on the part of the leading influences in it, for the recommendation of Mr. Webster to the National Convention as the Whig Candidate for the Presidency. In order to secure this object, the Pro-Slavery majority were willing to yield minor points which they had insultingly refused the last year to the Anti-Slavery minority, and even to pass resolutions equivalent to those which they

had then scouted from Faneuil Hall. In addition to these concessions, Mr. Webster himself was brought forward, and made a speech as satisfactory to the minority as he could well make it. In the excitement caused by this speech the resolutions came up for action. Mr. Palfrey moved as an amendment, "that the Whigs of Massachusetts, will support no man for the offices of President or Vice President, but those who are known by their acts or declared opinions to be opposed to the extension of Slavery." This amendment Mr. Winthrop opposed on the ground, that the Whig Party might have to choose between an extension candidate and defeat! This action on his part, secured him the Speaker's Chair, by the acknowledgment of Mr. Holmes, of Charleston, S. C., who, by declining to vote, decided that contest. The amendment, however, was pronounced to be lost, by a very doubtful vote, and then the resolutions, concluding with the recommendation of Mr. Webster, passed without opposition. Thus anomalous is the position of the Whigs of Massachusetts, that while they denounce the War and its objects, in the strongest terms, and select as their candidate a man who had just committed himself in the fullest manner to the same opinions, they refuse to engage to be faithful to their opinions, and their choice, when they come to be submitted to the ordeal of a National Convention.

The history of the Third Political Party, during the last year, deserves a passing notice, since it is probable that this will be the last time that we shall have occasion to mention it. Early in the summer, a Convention was held at Macedon Lock, N. Y., composed of persons usually acting with the Third Party, who erected themselves into a Fourth, by the style and title of the Liberty League. This organization distinguished itself from that from which it was a secession, by the addition of *eighteen* articles to the *one* which constituted the creed of the latter. It nominated Messrs. Gerrit Smith and Elihu Burritt as its candidates for the Presidency, and Vice Presidency, and took such measures as seemed best to it to secure their election. It rested upon the perception of the philosophical absurdity of attempting to build up a political party to success, upon a single idea. Its fallacy lay in proposing to build one up upon *nineteen*. Whereas, no political party can hope for, or should obtain, political success,

except through the confidence of the people, whether well or ill-placed, that it will provide for *all* the public interests.

In October, a Convention of the "Liberty" Party was held at Buffalo, for the nomination of Candidates. The leaders of the Liberty League were in attendance for the purpose of procuring, if possible, the adoption of their candidates and elected, by the Convention. The Convention, however, showed that it was too weary of the impracticable position in which the Third Party had stood so long, to be disposed to exchange it for one quite as bad. Accordingly, it settled the matter by nominating the Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, the candidate of the Independent Democrats of his own State, and thus, virtually merging themselves in that Party. Mr. Hale had declined permitting himself to be made the nominee of the "Liberty" Party, until he was in the field as the candidate of the Independent Democrats. A considerable number in the Convention were in favor of making no nomination until the Great Parties had made theirs, in the belief that one or the other would furnish a candidate satisfactory to all Anti-Slavery voters. And the opinion was expressed by prominent men in the party, that this was the last Presidential Convention it would ever hold. In order to avoid a collision of sentiment with their candidate on the subject of the relations of the Constitution to Slavery, the Convention had the good sense to make no claim of an Anti-Slavery construction for that Instrument, and the Pro-Slavery character of its compromises was admitted in its resolutions and in the speeches of conspicuous members, who had long maintained the opposite absurdity of doctrine.

The political demonstrations in the State of New York, within this year, have been of a new and encouraging aspect. The Mass Convention at Herkimer, by a portion of the Democratic Party, to pass censure upon the Pro-Slavery servility of the Regular Democratic Convention at Syracuse, was a hopeful sign of a recuperative element in the constitution of the popular mind, which had lain dormant so long that its very existence was a matter of doubt.

At the Syracuse Convention, the great State Democratic Convention for nominations, the following resolution was proposed for adoption:—

"Resolved, That while the Democracy of New York, represented in this Convention, will adhere to all the compromises of the Constitution and maintain all the reserved rights of the State, they declare — since the crisis has arrived when that question must be met — their uncompromising hostility to the extension of Slavery into territory now free, which may be hereafter acquired, by any action of the Government of the United States."

This resolution being refused a hearing, or at least a discussion, and that in a most insolent and tyrannical manner, this Mass Convention was called to meet at Herkimer, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the Democratic Party of New York, on this subject. It was summoned by no mean names in the Democratic ranks. C. C. Cambreleng, John Van Buren, and D. D. Field, were no cyphers, in themselves, and they stood for much more than they expressed, in their own proper persons.

The number of delegates was estimated at from *three to four thousand*. The rejected resolution was reiterated, adopted, and proclaimed as "an inseparable element" of the true Democratic Creed. The Convention went further. It declared that "the declared determination of no inconsiderable portion of our fellow Democrats at the South to refuse to go into a General Convention, for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency, except upon condition that opposition to the extension of Slave-ry into new Territories be abandoned, and to refuse their suffra-ges to candidates to office who do not concur in such extension, makes it necessary for the Democracy of New York to declare that, if such determination is persisted in, and becomes general, they will be obliged to adopt a counter declaration, and to pro-claim their determination to vote for no man, under any circum-stances, who does not subscribe to the preceding resolution; and we recommend our fellow Democrats to prepare for such an emergency." If this resolution be carried into effect, it will be one of the most memorable expressions of opinion in our history. If the powerful division of the Democracy of New York, repre-sented at the Herkimer Convention, really refuses to vote for an Extension Candidate, should such an one be set up by the Party, (as unquestionably will be done,) and acts for Northern interests rather than for partizan supremacy, it will be a divid-

ing wedge of no mean momentum to widen the breach, already opened, between North and South.

The grossly Pro-Slavery character of the political parties is proved by the necessity which it creates for these demonstrations, on the part of the Young Whigs of Massachusetts, of the Independent Democrats of New Hampshire, and the Anti-Extension Democrats of New York. They are of necessity Pro-Slavery, as long as they claim, as parties, a national character. The existence of Slavery in more than half of the States of the Union, and the concentration of all the political power of these States in the hands of a compact and intelligent body of Slaveholders, makes Compromise an essential element of any National Party. And compromise is, necessarily, the triumph of the weaker and the wiser party. So it is vain and absurd to expect any sustained and consistent Anti-Slavery action from any party that looks for success in cooperation with Slaveholders.

The Herkimer Convention did not nominate candidates in opposition to those set up by the Syracuse Convention. It merely met to express the sense of New York Democracy in this especial matter. The Young Democracy of New York are yet in the infantile state of our own Young Whigs, who voted for Mr. Briggs, after all their rejections. They do not, either of them, feel able to go alone as yet. We think they both made a mistake, for their own political prospects. The Young Whigs only wanted *pluck* to have had the control of Massachusetts, just as the Independent Democrats had of New Hampshire, and will have again. That section of the Democracy of New Hampshire, by throwing away the scabbard when they drew the sword, placed Mr. Hale in the Senate and Mr. Tuck in the House; and by a union with the Whigs will undoubtedly again carry the State.

But all these things are signs of somewhat yet to be revealed. A Northern Party is unquestionably at hand. Like the seeds of Jerusalem, the jarring parties at the North will yet unite and present a formidable front to the common enemy. The recent merging of the Third Party, in its National Organization, (if it can be said to have had such,) in the Independent Democratic Party, is another sign. It had already done this in New Hamp-

shire, and has now had the good sense virtually to abandon its absurd and impracticable position, and to identify itself with a segment of one of the ruling parties. The Whigs of New Hampshire have shown themselves willing to waive minor differences, and unite with Mr. Hale and his friends, on the ground of opposition to Slavery and Slave-extension. This will be the *modus operandi* elsewhere. There is Anti-Slavery spirit enough in the Free States to create a formidable, if not a predominant party. All that is needed is men of personal integrity and moral courage to take the lead. We think the emergency will soon arise, if it have not arisen already, to call them forth.

THE CHURCH.

The American Church, during the past year, has done nothing to change its character as the Bulwark of American Slavery. The blessing of the Church has still been bestowed upon this enemy of human souls, the waters of baptism have been poured upon its brow, the consecrated elements imparted to it in the fellowship of Christian brotherhood. A gentle breathing of disapprobation is all that has sometimes been suffered to escape from ecclesiastical bodies, compelled to action of some sort, by the importunity of some impracticable member. But in no case has "the sum of all villanies" been recognized as a deadly sin, the commission of which must separate the criminal party from the communion of Saints, until purged by penitence and reformation. The American Church is still the Sanctuary of Slavery,—the City of Refuge to which it may fly from before the Avenger of the Blood of the Innocent, and be safe. The World, the Parties, Political Presses, General Courts, and Congresses, are in advance of the Church, the Sects, the Religious Press, the Conference, the Assembly, and the Convention, in moral sensibility to perceive, and in moral courage to expose, the crafty cruelty of this trampler on human hearts.

To give a minute detail of the ecclesiastical action and inaction, during this year, would be to recite the history of almost every Ecclesiastical Assembly, large and small, that has gathered itself together within our borders. Wherever the Sons of God have been gathered together, thither has this Satan come

likewise. And the principal business of the holy Convocations has seemed to be, to shut their eyes to the fact of his presence, or to prove that he might be, after all, an Angel of Light. A cursory glance at a very few of these demonstrations is all that we have time to attempt. The American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance held a meeting at New York, in the course of the Spring or Summer, at which several days were devoted to an attempt to discover some compromise whereby God and the Devil might be made to be at one. The pledge which the American brethren, at the London Convention, had made, that they would form an Alliance at home free from Slaveholding contamination, (although the convenient memories of some of those present on the two occasions could not recal any such engagement,) making some action on this subject inevitable, the following proposition was embodied among the purposes of the Alliance, as expressive of its views and purposes.

"Inasmuch as the peculiar circumstances of this country seem to demand an expression of sentiment on the subject of Slavery, this Alliance declares that a discrimination is to be made between those who hold Slaves, not by their own fault, or for the sake of their own advantage, but from motives entirely benevolent, and those who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage for the sake of gain; and that the former are to be regarded as entitled to fellowship, while the latter cannot be received as members of the Alliance."

To this proposition several amendments were proposed, some for the better and some for the worse. It was observable, that the member of the Convention who showed the most honest abhorrence of Slavery and the greatest willingness to shut it out from Christian fellowship, was also its only lay member, the President of the Convention, Chief Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey. This gentleman exposed the fallacy of the assertion, that any body, in any State, could be compelled by law to hold men as Slaves, and declared his readiness to exclude Slaveholders from the Alliance. He, however, in common with most of his associates, seemed glad of any way of escape whereby they might avoid taking any action upon the subject. The matter was finally disposed of in the following shape, with but a single dissenting vote, that of the Rev. Mr. Cheney.

"That while the Evangelical Alliance admits into its bosom

such persons only as are respectable members of Evangelical Churches, we are nevertheless persuaded that the great object of the Association,—the promotion of a larger Christian Union, may be furthered by a frank expression of our sentiments on the subject of Slavery. We therefore declare our deep and unalterable opposition to this stupendous evil, and we hold it to be the duty of all men, by all wise and Christian means, to seek its entire extirpation and removal from the land. Still, the one object of the Alliance shall be kept steadily in view, which is the promotion of Christian Union and Brotherly Love."

This proposition was one in which most Slaveholding Churches could unite. "A stupendous evil" is by no means necessarily a sin. And as long as every Church and Church-member was left to decide what were "wise and Christian means" to be used for its extirpation, the smallest possible ground for quarrel was left to the Slaveholding brethren. The meeting was a very small one, and its proceedings excited but little general interest, in the Church, or out of it. So that it is apparent that the Alliance in America, as well as in England, perished in its desperate attempt to save harmless the Christian character of Man-stealing.

A new attempt to create a false issue has been made, recently, under the specious pretense of inculcating the duty of furnishing the Slaves with Bibles! When the eyes of Christendom and Civilization is fixed with indignant contempt on the American Church, for its conspiracy with the master to strip the Slave of his every right, she attempts to convert it into a smile of admiration, by a parade of their zeal for saving the souls of the Slaves by the distribution of the Word of God among them. And this in the face of the fact that the Slaves are denied by law, in many of the Slave States, and by public opinion and want of opportunity (with rare exceptions) in the rest, to learn to read at all! Truly did the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its Annual Meeting, describe the project to be as absurd as one for furnishing all the Blind in the country with telescopes and spectacles! This fair opportunity, however, of throwing holy dust in the eyes of the people, was not neglected. The General Associations of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and other ecclesiastical bodies, expressed their warm approbation of the plan. The real spirit of the first of these bodies, at least, may be gathered from

its rejection, by a unanimous vote, of a preamble and resolution, introduced by the Rev. William B. Stone, to the following effect.

" That inasmuch as there were Slaveholders connected with both the Old and New School Branches of the Presbyterian Church, and this General Association maintained a friendly correspondence with the General Assemblies of that Church, this Body was consequently involved in the guilt of upholding Slavery by such fellowship; therefore,

Resolved, That our correspondence with both these Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church cease with the close of this meeting, and that we invite a Correspondence with that Branch of the Presbyterian Church recently organized on *Anti-Slavery Principles*.

The Covenanters, almost alone, of all the American sects, maintain a consistent and undeviating testimony against Slavery; and they have reiterated their words of witness this year, as in years gone by. The Free-Will Baptists have also, by a Protest, signed by a great number of their ministers, uplifted their voices against this crying iniquity, and proclaimed their determination to labor for its overthrow. And, while upon this point, it gives us much pleasure to mention the rare, the almost unique, example of a British Clergyman, visiting America on an ecclesiastical mission, and maintaining a faithful and uncompromising testimony against Slavery. This was the Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns, who visited the Baptist Churches, in this Country, and we believe, maintained the integrity of British Abolitionism amidst the Pro-Slavery influences of our religious atmosphere.

Slavery, as usual, intruded its hideous visage into the Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held at Buffalo, in September. The dexterity with which it was covered up and passed by, was edifying and illustrative of character. Slavery would make its appearance, for there it was in the midst of them, but this seems hardly to have been lamented, so great was the complacency and devout gratitude which the skilful legerdemain which disposed of it, excited in all pious minds. The Report of the Meeting says that "the subject of Slavery, the only subject that anybody feared would interrupt its harmony, was, without difficulty, satisfactorily disposed of." This satisfactory disposition cnsisted of the following action.

"Chancellor Walworth, from the Business Committee, to whom was referred the subject of the relations of the Board to Slavery in the Cherokee and Choctaw nations, reported that 'it is inexpedient that the attention of the Board should be occupied with the discussion of that subject at the present meeting,' — Mr. Greene, the Secretary, who has charge of the Indian correspondence, being absent on account of ill-health, and he alone can make the necessary explanations. The Prudential Committee are intending to send Mr. Greene to visit during the year the missions among the Indians, and he will be prepared at the next meeting to make all the explanations required. This report was adopted."

One would think that the only explanation needed was, whether or not Slaveholding converts were admitted to those Mission Churches. If it were not denied that such is the case, it is difficult to see why it was inexpedient to attend to the matter at once, or how any visit of Mr. Greene to those Missions could affect the necessity of action on the part of the Board.

Would this be the conduct of the Board, had its members any adequate sense of the "exceeding sinfulness" of this sin? Suppose, instead of its being the wealthiest class of converts (as these Slaveholders, of course, are) that was in question for the gentlemanlike peccadillo of holding Slaves, it had been another description of sinners that called for dealings. Suppose the Missionaries had been in the habit of admitting to their Churches a class of Indians whose business it was to steal "horses, negroes and other cattle" from the adjoining Slave territory, and that the voice of remonstrance had come up from the white Slaveholding Christians, thus annoyed; would the Board have refused again and again to take action in the premises, and, at last have directed their remedies through the very men who had brought scandal upon the Church and the Cause? We know not. In such case we apprehend the first step would have been, to recall the offending Missionaries, as men unfit for the trust they had undertaken; and the next, to replace them by others with instructions to excommunicate all persisting in this sin, as fast as the necessary steps could be taken, and to refuse admission to any applicants who had not put it far from them. This, and this only, would have shown that the Board were in earnest in their purpose, and sincere in their abhorrence of the crime thus consecrated.

We do not believe that the Board can come gracefully or creditably, out of this dilemma. It is a satisfaction to see that they are driven into it. It looks as if the power behind the throne, the power that furnishes the supplies, were better, as well as stronger, than the throne itself. We shall not be surprised if in due time, instructions should be issued to the Missionaries on the Polygamy Stations "to do what they can to induce their members" to have but one wife; and "to adopt such measures and impart such instructions as will result in removing" the scandal of this superfluity from those Mission Churches. And, perhaps, the Rev. David Greene may be despatched to visit those stations and to make "the necessary explanations," on his return. We shall sympathize in the pain such radical measures may give to the learned and pious Chancellor Walworth, and to the Rev. Dr. Taylor, the head of New Haven Theology; but we fear they will have to make up their minds to it.

It is an observable fact, taken in connection with this action, that the receipts of the Board fell short, during the past year, of the Expenditures by about FIFTY-THREE THOUSAND dollars! A variety of reasons were given for this state of things; but none, we apprehend, that touched the root of the matter. For the two last years the receipts were from TWENTY-FIVE TO THIRTY THOUSAND dollars *less* than for either of the years '44 and '45. The matters of Slavery and Polygamy have been especially agitated within those two years; and we cannot but think that this falling off is to be largely accounted for, on account of dissatisfaction with the outrageous conduct of the Board in these respects. The concession, such as it was, that was made on the Slavery Question, is a sign, as we look upon it, that this element was recognized. From all which we are encouraged to hope, that the Congregational Masses are growing to look into these matters for themselves, and to question the wisdom of the complete reliance which they have reposed in time past in the Board. That an effort will be made that will remove their present embarrassments, is very likely. But we cannot forbear to hope that the *prestige* is broken, and that it can never be recovered. That the people are gradually learning to see that a religion which is made to cover up the most horrible of cruelties, and the most

flagitious of vices, is a gift which blesses neither them that give nor them that receive. The true Missionary Ground is *here*. The American Board is the first field for our St. Francis Xaviers and our St. Vincent de Pauls to occupy. When they, and those they lead, are converted to the Christianity of Christ, it will be time enough to turn to the Gentiles.

It is an incontrovertible evidence of the progress made by the Anti-Slavery Movement, in this country, that almost every religious Denomination, great and small, is earnest to vindicate its claim to the Anti-Slavery name. The great Methodist and Presbyterian Bodies have had the tie that united them into one National Organization, severed, as at the touch of fire, by a scarcely appreciable application of Anti-Slavery Truth. The same fate, unquestionably, waits the Great National Baptist Denomination. The Unitarians, the Universalists and the Free-Will Baptists have uttered their Protests against Slavery, by the mouths of many of their ministers. The great Fact of American Slavery, the greatest as well as the vilest Fact on this Continent has obtruded itself upon their presence and demanded a recognition of its existence, of its character, and of their duties towards it. These are signs of the times of no mean significance.

Their significance is two-fold. They show that the Agitation of the subject of Slavery, so much deprecated by priests and politicians, has reached the hearts of multitudes in the bosoms of the various sects, who demand ecclesiastical action of some sort for the purification of their Churches. And they also show that such a degree of general attention has been extorted to the miseries of the most helpless class of our countrymen, by the unwelcome importunity of the Abolitionists, that no sect at all popular in its composition, or progressive in its tendencies or pretensions, can refuse to look at this hideous Evil and to speak a word, at least, of abhorrence of it. These manifestations are the resultants of two forces, one acting upon the Sects from within, and the other from without. Both of these forces owe their generation, their application or their direction to the perpetual motive-power of the Anti-Slavery Enterprise,—that Enterprise which sprung into being, when its day was come, as the necessary antagonist of Slavery, and which can never die until Slavery ceases to exist.

THE CRIME.

This guilty people are forever in the presence of their National Crime. Though the Church bless, and the State foster it, it casts its cold black shadow on the Nation's heart and conscience. Let priests and politicians disguise it as they will, the Grim Feature will obtrude its deformity between us and the sunshine of our glory and our prosperity. In vain do men endeavor to shut their eyes to this importunate fact, it is daily and hourly forcing itself upon their notice. It is reverberated in the din of arms that returns to us from the table-lands of Mexico, we feel it in the harassing variations of policy that perplex our industry and impede our prosperity, we see it in the liturgy that the Church is obliged to perform in its honor, we discern it in the prostrations which our Statesmen have to make at its footstool. We see it reflected in the looks of scorn which are cast upon us from the monarchical shore of the Atlantic. It glares upon us from amid the ruins of our experiment of Free Institutions which it has shattered, from the desecration of our historic memories which it has defiled, from the degradation of our National name and National honor which it has trampled in the dust.

Other nations have had, and have their National Crimes, but none of such enormity, or perpetrated with such a calm deliberation of guilt. Our fathers made Slavery a part of their National Institutions in cold blood, and after intelligent discussion. We consent to retain it, because we shrink from the personal inconvenience that may peradventure beset ourselves were we to put it away from us. Should justice be done, we fear lest the Heavens should fall. No Crime was ever before thus adopted and retained among the institutions of any people, intelligently, deliberately, definitively. The time was, when the People of the Free States had it in their election whether or not they would take Slavery under the protection of the National Arm. Had they said the true word, and the word which true spirits would have had them say, Slavery would have perished, or have dragged out a precarious existence within the domain that it lays waste. But the North took the young serpent to her bosom,

and now she marvels that, warmed by her vital heat and battening upon the blood it has drawn from her heart, that it is grown into a dragon that threatens to devour her and her children. The union of these States was founded in selfish cowardice. In hopes of escaping 'rom the ills they had, and those they feared, our fathers flew to others that they hoped might be turned to blessings, but which have revealed themselves in the shape of unmitigated curses.

Standing where we stand, and reading the history of the past in the light of our own experience, how plainly do we perceive the folly which proposed to weld into a homogeneous Union parts essentially, and of their own nature, discordant! How clearly can we see the philosophical absurdity of men seeking to secure their own rights by consenting to assist at the sacrifice of those of others! For we see the wreck which these concessions have made of the character, the spirit, the honor of the Nation. From the moment of that consent, Slavery has been the absolute Sovereign of the Nation. Armed in the strength of that Conspiracy against Human Rights, called the Constitution of the United States, it has lorded it equally over the personal rights of the Slave and the political rights of the nominally Free. It has enlarged the bounds of its domain at its pleasure, it has shut up the ports of our commerce, it has plunged us into bloody wars, it has dictated and changed the national policy for our punishment, it has made our Presidents and our laws, and it rules us with a rod of iron. Happy would it have been for us had the original Crime never been perpetrated! Had our fathers but refused the price for the boon, and permitted the old confederation to fall into the divisions which nature and affinity would have pointed out, instead of attempting to unite the incongruous parts into one whole, what a load of guilt, what a penalty of degradation would they not have saved to us, their sons! How would the religion of the land have been saved from disgrace! How would its politics have been compatible with honor and conscience! What an example would they have exhibited to the world, instead of the warning they are now! How would they have completed the work of their Revolution, instead of leaving a heritage of more deadly conflict for human rights to their sons!

THE PUNISHMENT.

In describing the Crime have we indicated the Punishment. Never did Cause and Consequence follow each other more closely than has the Penalty trod in the footsteps of our National Guilt. It has made our Religion a mockery, our Republicanism a by-word, our Name a disgrace. It has made the American people mean and compromising, and set its brand upon their souls. It has quenched their spirit and made them prompt to bow their neck to any yoke that Slavery proposes to impose. It has mocked them with an arbitrary government under the forms of a Free one. It has made us stand up in the presence of the Mother Country a living witness of the failure of our attempt at Free Government, to make which, we burst the tie that bound us to her. For we find that we have placed our new Institutions on a less popular basis than her own.

It sounds paradoxical, but it is true, to say that the voice of the people of England is more potential for national reformations than that of America. There is, in effect, but *one* political power in the British Empire; and that is the House of Commons. King and Lords are merely drags upon the machine of State. They may retard its motion for a while, but they can never *block* it entirely. Both know that when a sufficient head of popular steam is on, they must get off the track, or be crushed to atoms. The King is in the hands of the Commons, and the Lords are in the hands of the King. The power of the Purse controls the power of the Sword. The perennial quality of the Fountain of Honor keeps the streams that flow from it in check. The King cannot move hand or foot without the permission of his "faithful Commons." And the Lords know that the unlimited prerogative of Creation will make the dignity of the Peerage dirt-cheap, if their resistance to necessary change be pushed to its utmost theoretical extent. The King has a Constitutional Veto; but it has not been used for a hundred and fifty years. The House of Lords have a legislative power coördinate with the House of Commons; but the day is long past since they dared to interpose their negative between the deliberate will of the people and its legislative accomplishment.

In the national Polity of America, too, there is but *one* power; and that is THE SLAVE POWER. The Constitution of England is, in effect, a democracy under the forms of a monarchy and hereditary aristocracy. Ours, on the other hand, is an hereditary aristocracy of the closest and the vilest nature, under the forms of an unlimited democracy. We have so contrived and managed our institutions that an hereditary oligarchy, founded on property in human beings, has a complete and absolute check on the whole machine; besides the incidental, but controlling, power which its union on all important subjects enables it to exert in their decision. The actual number of *voting* Slaveholders (deducting women, minors and absentees) is not much more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND, certainly not more than A HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND, and yet they possess, in consequence of their ownership of human souls, a clear majority of FOUR members in the Senate of the United States! This body is a branch of the National Legislature coördinate with the House of Representatives; it can originate and negative bills; it has a veto on every nomination to office from the highest to the lowest; and it is an essential element of the treaty-making power. The House of Lords never possessed, in its palmiest days, power comparable to that of the Senate. Its number cannot be increased except by the admission of new States; and as to *this*, it has an absolute veto. The members sit for six years, and for that time are independent of all mortal control. The Slaveholding element is thus the governing principle of the nation; for it has the power of blocking the wheels of government, through its majority in the Senate, as effectually as the Commons those of the English government. There has been no such oligarchy in modern times as that formed by the Slaveholding majority of the United States' Senate. None, at least, since Venice

“Sunk, like a sea-weed, into whence she rose!”

This forms the great distinction between the English and the American Polity, and accounts for the different results that flow from them. The English Constitution has an elasticity which enables it to adapt itself to every new state of things. The King and the Lords must be conservatives or reformers accord-

ing as the general will of the nation dictates. The Prime Minister is merely the Palinurus of the Ship of State—‘the pilot that weathers the storm’—not the Deity that rouses the tempest and rules the waves. Thus, when in 1841 the people of England, tired of the inefficiency and ‘finality’ of the Whigs, made Sir Robert Peel Premier, it was fondly thought that a Tory Ministry was established. But, lo! it was not long before he found that it was only by becoming more Whiggish than the Whigs, and almost as Radical as the Radicals, that the ship could be sailed. And so a Protectionist Parliament was compelled to lay infanticidal hands on the policy of Protection.

The American Constitution, on the other hand, has no elasticity in its nature. The Slaveholding element, which it has made supreme, never yields, but is ever encroaching. It is politically omnipotent, and, of course, will act its pleasure. No political pressure from without can modify its action, as long as such pressure must be directed according to that same Constitution which gives it its despotic power. The only hope of Freedom is, that its very unyieldingness may, in process of events, break the machine in pieces; so that a wiser scheme of government may be constructed out of the ruins, and with the experience, of the original failure.

THE REMEDY.

Such is the crime, and such the punishment, of the American Nation. For the punishment there is but one Remedy, and that is only to be found in the abandonment of the crime. Until we are ready to put the wickedness away from us, we must expect to submit to the penalty. The doom of man is not to be reversed for us. As we have planted so must we reap. Full measure, pressed down and running over, must the harvest of our sowing be poured into our bosoms. Repentance and reformation alone, can bring us the better harvest of a better life. To guide this wicked nation into the ways of pleasantness and prosperity, and to tell her of the things that pertain to her peace, is the prophetic mission of the American Abolitionists. Clearly must they discern, and boldly must they proclaim the

truth and the way of this redemption. Like all who have ever accepted the ungrateful task of doing a nation good, they must be content with the reward which the beneficent attempt carries with it. The highest service that can be done to individuals or to nations, is to tell them of their sins, and to point out a way of escape. But it is a service that can scarcely look for the blessing or the gratitude of the admonished offender.

In proportion to the fidelity with which the American Abolitionists have done their duty in this matter, has a blessing waited upon them. Their success has been greater than their day, or their strength, had promised them. They have aroused the nation, they have awakened the church, they have made the people and the world aware of the omnipresence and omnipotence of Slavery, within the reach of its influences, as they never were before. The stertorous sleep of the State, and the fat slumbers of the Church, are broken forever. Never can either fold their arms and lie down in their former lethargy. The very vitality into which our agitation has aroused Slavery herself, is a seal of our apostleship. And in the Anti-Slavery spirit which we have created or fostered, in the Southern country, do we discern the proofs of an effectual ministry. Whether we look towards the North or the South, whether we regard the imperfect teachings after a reformation here, or the desperate fury of the masters and the longings of more generous spirits for a better state of things, there, we perceive that a Revolution is begun which must go on to a decisive result in favor of Liberty or of Slavery.

Though the Abolitionists, like other Prophets, are without honor in their own country, they stand already in the midst of the fulfilment of their own predictions. When their voice was first heard, like the Voice of One crying in the Wilderness, they discerned but a part of the Message of which they were to be the Apostles. But that part was despised and rejected of men, with scorn and violence. Men shut their eyes, and rushed blindly upon them, for enunciating and applying the simplest axioms of Liberty. But, even now, we perceive that the Stone which was thus rejected, is, by degrees, recognized as the true Head of the Corner. The Principles which the Abolitionists were mobbed

for disseminating in 1835, have now been proclaimed by the Legislatures of Sovereign States, and form the tie which connects together large minorities, to say the least, of the Great National Parties. And this, in spite of the vaticinations of the Prophets of ill, who foreboded nothing but mischief to the cause of Liberty in the Free States, from the agitation of the impracticable fanatics. So, in the South, it was declared that we had made the shadow go backwards on the dial of Emancipation, and had stopped the Sun of Freedom in his journey through their skies. This cry was re-echoed from the North, and was made the excuse of the cowardly and the time-serving, for not coming up to the help of the Lord against the Mighty.

Many are the accusations which are laid to the charge of the Abolitionists. They are visionary, fanatical, unscrupulous, incendiary, bitter, denunciatory, and impracticable. Their hand is against every man, and it is no marvel that every man's hand is against them. No prudent man is willing to be known as of their Assembly. Were it not for them, the Cause would long since have been taken up and carried forward by wiser and more influential men. Their agitation has been a hindrance, rather than a help, to the progress of the Anti-Slavery Sentiment. In reply to all this, we can only point to the state of the public mind before our Movement began and now; to indicate the monuments which we have set up to mark the rising of the tide of public sentiment; to show that we had successively occupied the several positions, once rejected of the Church and the World, but to which they have now reluctantly advanced. Whether they would have attained to their present point of progress had it not been for the going before of the Anti-Slavery Pioneers, we cannot say, nor are we careful to discover. It is sufficient for us to know, that we were led up to those lower heights by the same spirit which has conducted us to that serener elevation on which we now stand, and to believe that the general mind of the North may yet be led on to discern its only way of safety, by our assistance, or in our despite.

We have no infallibility to claim for the true American Abolitionists. Too often have they been deceived in their hopes, and mistaken in their confidence, to arrogate to themselves

such a character. Nor are we disposed to deny or to palliate their faults,—for they are neither few nor small. But though not infallible, we maintain that the several successive points upon which they have deliberately planted themselves, though scouted when first taken up, as absurd and impracticable, have been proved by experience, and by the acknowledgment of intelligent opponents of Slavery, to be impregnable. And though not without sin in the world, we do most unequivocally assert that they are but too free from the sins commonly laid to their charge. Visionary and impracticable they are not,—for they have pointed out, and now uphold, the only way of deliverance for the Slave, the masters being the witnesses. Unscrupulous we are not,—for, what manner of people in this land have proceeded to their conclusions so deliberately, and maintained them with such religious regard to the lawfulness of the means they used? Let our enemies answer. Incendiary we are not, unless it be the work of one to labor for the extinguishment of a conflagration that threatens to devour everything that is worth preserving. Bitter and denunciatory we are not,—for our plainest words have been informed only by the Spirit of Love, and looked only to the awakening of the Spirit of Repentance. And God knows, and we know, how far, how very far, have we ever been from a Spirit of Fanaticism. Alas! it is our shortcomings, and not our far-reaching, which it becomes us to confess and repent, before God and Man.

It is for a spirit of more earnest zeal, of a more self-sacrificing devotion, in the Cause of the Slave, that the Abolitionists have to seek. It is to put themselves, indeed, in his stead, and to feel in bonds as bound with him, as they have never yet done, that they most need. It is a higher appreciation of the privilege they enjoy in being permitted to take part in the only Movement of their time and Country, that will impress itself upon the destinies of millions yet to be, and be felt as long as time endures, and a more resolute purpose to live worthy of their calling, after which they should aspire. This is the Heroic Age,—if Heroes can be found to answer its demands. Mighty Events are at hand, even waiting at the door, if fitting Heralds appear to usher them into the Domain of History. Greatest

among these is the Deliverance of the American Slave from his chains, and of the American Freeman from his guilt. Twice blessed is it,—in its Advent, to the soul of the faithful Abolitionist,—in its Accomplishment, to the whole nature of the trampled Slave. Happy they who discern the blessed Present and the sublime Future of this great Vocation! Happier, who shall endure even to the end!

TREASURER'S REPORT

Of Receipts and Disbursements from January 1, 1847, to January 1, 1848.

By Balance of Account rendered January 1, 1847,.....	\$840 10
“ Cash of F. Jackson, proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair,.....	3,474 39
“ “ of Finance Committee for Collections at Annual Meeting,.....	202 84
“ “ from the Bequest of the late H. Chapman,.....	100 00
“ “ from Carrolline Weston, proceeds of Anti-Slavery Fair at New Bedford,.....	380 50
“ “ from A. Brooko on account of sale of Books,.....	30 00
“ “ from Finance Committee for collections at N. E. Convention,.....	342 25
“ “ from collections by Agents, and donations from sundry persons, as published monthly in the Liberator,.....	1,394 28
 Total Amount of Receipts,.....	 \$6,773 36

Disbursements as follows:

Paid R. F. Walcutt for expenses of Depository,.....	\$220 00
“ per order of the Board to Treasurer of A. A. S. S.,.....	3,264 00
“ per order of the Board towards expenses of the Trial of Dr. Hudson,.....	75 00
“ Office Rent, 21 Cornhill,.....	202 78
“ Expenses of Faneuil Hall for Annual Meeting,.....	40 50
“ Use of Melodeon for Annual Meeting,.....	35 00
“ Use of Marlboro' Chapel Hall, four evenings, for S. S. Foster's Lectures,.....	20 00
“ W. T. A. Society for use of Hall two evenings for do.,.....	16 00
“ Printing and posting handbills,.....	8 25
“ Sundry advertising bills for Annual Meeting and Lectures,.....	24 76
“ Reporting speeches at Annual Meeting,	15 00
“ Sundry bills for expenses of Fair,.....	65 50
“ per order of Board to Mrs. Frederick Douglass,.....	20 00
“ for paper and printing Annual Report,.....	90 00
“ Printing Circulars,.....	6 00
“ Harnden & Co. for transportation sundry packages,.....	6 45
“ Expenses of Pic Nic at Waltham,.....	41 27
“ “ “ Dorchester,.....	26 69
“ “ New England A. S. Convention,.....	164 36
“ Dow & Jackson's bill printing,.....	8 50
“ Addison Davis for Services as Lecturing Agent,.....	183 60
“ Parker Pillsbury “ “ “	537 37
“ S. S. Foster, “ “ “	192 22
“ Wm. W. Brown, “ “ “	386 85
“ Samuel May, Jr. do. as General Agent,.....	470 92
“ Loring Moody do. as Financial Agent,.....	345 76
 Total Amount of Disbursements,.....	 \$6,466 78
Balance in Treasury, January 1, 1848,.....	\$306 58
	 \$6,773 36

E. E.

S. PHILBRICK, TREASURER.

BOSTON, January 16, 1848.

I have examined the foregoing account from January 18, 1847, to the present time, and find it to be correct and properly vouched. Balance in the Treasurer's hands being three hundred and six dollars, fifty-eight cents.

EDMUND JACKSON, AUDITOR.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford,	GEORGE HOYT, Athol,
NATHANIEL B. BORDEN, Fall River,	JOHN C. GORE, Roxbury,
STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge,	CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth,
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton,	ZENAS RHOADES, New Marlboro',
ADIN BALLOU, Milford,	BENJAMIN SNOW, Fitchburg,
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield,	GEORGE MILES, Westminster,
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton,	JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn,
EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester,	CYRUS PIERCE, Newton,
WILLIAM B. EARLE, Leicester,	JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport,
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield,	THOMAS T. STONE, Salem,
WILLIAM B. STONE, Gardner,	BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth,
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket,	CHARLES L. REMOND, Salem,
NATHAN WEBSTER, Haverhill,	CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALCUTT, Boston.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,	WENDELL PHILLIPS,
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,	JOHN ROGERS,
CORNELIUS BRAMHALL,	ANNE WARREN WESTON,
HENRY I. BOWDITCH,	ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
JOHN M. SPEAR,	CHARLES K. WHIPPLE,
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.	SAMUEL MAY, JR.

APPENDIX.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This Annual Meeting commenced in Boston, on Wednesday morning, Jan. 26, at the Melodeon.

The Chair was taken by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, at half past ten o'clock, A. M.; and it was voted, that the Society do now proceed to business.

Opportunity for prayer being given, prayer was offered by John M. Spear.

Voted, That SAMUEL MAY, Jr. and ANNE W. WESTON be Assistant Secretaries during the Annual Meeting.

The following persons, on motion of EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham, were nominated and accepted by the Society as a Committee of Business:—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, HENRY C. WRIGHT, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, CAROLINE WESTON, STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

Subsequently, on motion of H. C. WRIGHT, DANIEL RICKETSON, of New Bedford, and W. H. FISH, of Hopedale, were added to the Business Committee.

The following persons, on motion of S. MAY, Jr., were nominated and chosen a Committee on the Roll and Finance:—

LORING MOODY, JAMES N. BUFFUM, JOHN M. SPEAR, ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, JOHN M. FISK.

On motion of SAMUEL PHILBRICK, of Brookline, *Voted*, That a Committee of one from each County be nominated by the Chair, as a Committee to nominate a list of Officers of the Society for the present year.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK presented his Report, as Treasurer of the Society, for the past year; which, having been audited, was unanimously accepted by the Society. This Report will be found in another place.

The President nominated the following as the Committee to nominate Officers of the Society, (with some vacancies to be filled afterwards,) and his nomination was accepted by the Society:—

EDMUND QUINCY, of Norfolk; JOHN T. HILTON, of Middlesex; JOHN M. FISK, of Worcester; CORNELIUS BRAMHALL, of Suffolk; JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Essex; DANIEL RICKETSON, of Bristol; HENRY H. BRIGGAM, of Plymouth; NATHANIEL BARNEY, of Nantucket.

Voted, On motion of G. W. STACY of Milford, that the Annual Report of the Board of Managers be now heard.

The President left the Chair, which was taken by CHARLES F. HOVEY, of Boston.

Copious extracts from said Report were then read by EDMUND QUINCY, Corresponding Secretary.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr. gave notice that a copy of the petition to the Legislature, for secession from the Union, would be kept at the Secretaries' table for signatures, during the sessions of this meeting.

HENRY C. WRIGHT, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

1.—*Resolved*, That while we deeply regret that the Slave Power should have been able to find one of its most willing and useful tools in the Pilgrim blood of Massachusetts, we must still recognize one virtue in ROBERT C. WINTHROP, that, unlike his fellow Whigs, he has never been a hypocrite in politics; he has never pretended to own himself or claimed to be anything but the mouth-piece of Cotton, whether in State street or at the Capitol; he cannot be accused of getting office, like Mr. Briggs, under false pretences; neither, like the Hon. Mr. 'Facing-both-ways,' did he signalize his youth by thunders against Slavery on Plymouth Rock, and then, with the fame of many years upon his brow, say his prayers backward before the Capitol at Richmond; on the contrary, we are bound to allow, that he has always gloried in being a *Dough-face* from the beginning, at home and abroad, in every sphere, 'however bounded, and be the shame more or less,'—that he has not sought for his bargain the decent cover of secrecy, but his prostitution has been open, in the market-place, and he has worn its wages insolently and without shame; that to guard against suspicion of hypocrisy even in quoting Scripture, he took care to put on broad record, beforehand, in Faneuil Hall, a pledge to remind the world that in his case, at least, there were many things beside the Lord, 'which make men to be of one mind in a house.'

2.—*Resolved*, That our deep regret to find such a character linked

with the name of WINTHROP is forgotten in the sad reflection that, like wax beneath the seal, he is but what the schools and churches of Boston have made him, the faithful representative of the opinions of his native city; and that could we succeed in changing those opinions, the weathercocks upon our steeples would be laggards, compared with him, in shifting with the wind.

3.—*Resolved*, That the reelection of GEORGE N. BRIGGS to office, with all the sins of his perjured and treasonable proclamation, places Massachusetts among the active supporters of the Mexican war; that not all the resolutions which even *her* Legislature has passed, or can pass, are able to hide that fact; and that if GEORGE N. BRIGGS has, as his friends claim, repented of that disgraceful act, he should be as ready to make as public ‘proclamation’ of his repentance as he was of his servility—and not leave his friends to sacrifice character in supporting one convicted of treason out of his own mouth, with nothing to justify their confidence but chimney-corner confessions.

Whereas, The boast of the people of these United States is, that they are the *freest* people on earth, while they hold and use one-sixth of their fellow-countrymen as *Slaves*,—that they are an *enlightened* people, while they punish as a heavy crime, the acquisition of knowledge among three millions of their number,—that they are a *civilized* people, while one-sixth of the inhabitants are compelled, by law, to live in absolute *heathenism*,—that the blessings of liberty and free institutions are extended to all, while three millions of their number are outlawed, and hunted with bloodhounds and rifles, for attempting to raise themselves from the condition of *brutes* to that of *men*—from the condition of *Slaves* to that of *Freemen*; Therefore,

4.—*Resolved*, That this misnamed Republic is a *wilful liar and a shameless hypocrite*, against which the friends of freedom in Great Britain and throughout the world ought to be warned, as against the deadliest enemy of the human race.

Voted, On motion of EDMUND QUINCY, that the fourth Resolution, with its Preamble, be taken up for discussion.

HENRY C. WRIGHT briefly addressed the Society in support of the Resolution, and was followed by EDMUND QUINCY and STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

At one o'clock, on motion of HENRY C. WRIGHT, *Voted* to adjourn, to meet in the same place at half past two.

WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

Society re-assembled, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

The resolution under discussion was again read, and was spoken to by SAMUEL MAY, Jr., and WM. W. BROWN, both in its support.

Leave being granted, the following Resolution was presented by S. MAY, Jr., and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That every friend to the Anti-Slavery cause here present, be requested to enrol his or her name as a member of this meeting, and also to give one dollar, or such other sum as is thought proper, towards defraying the expenses of this Annual meeting.

JOHN LEVY and H. H. BRIGHAM were added to the Committee on Finance and the Roll.

HENRY C. WRIGHT took the floor, in behalf of the Resolution; but gave way, after a few remarks, to

WILLIAM W. BROWN, who came forward again, he said, by request, to comment upon a letter lately received by Mr. QUINCY, from ENOC PRICE, of St. Louis, Missouri, and which letter he [Mr. Brown] had now for the first time seen. The writer of it declared himself the *owner* of WM. W. BROWN, said he had seen and read the Narrative, which Mr. B. has lately published, and which he admitted to be true in the main, and after setting forth several particulars as to the manner in which he became possessed of W. W. BROWN, (then known by another name,) offered to give him *free papers*, if he or his friends would pay to his *Agent in Boston*, the sum of three hundred and twenty-five dollars. Mr. BROWN said, I have always felt that I ran a great risk in passing around here, as I do, in Massachusetts; and now I am more than ever sensible of the risk I run; for in an unguarded moment I may be seized upon, even here, and dragged back to Slavery in St. Louis. Mr. BROWN spoke with evident agitation. The audience expressed great sympathy with him, and by loud responses testified that there were many who would stand forth in his defence in any time of danger.

H. C. WRIGHT resumed the floor, and concluded his remarks on the fourth resolution.

He was followed by HENRY CLAPP, Jr., of Lynn, who said that he thought the time which the Society and many of its speakers occupied in showing the Pro-Slavery character of the United States Constitution and Laws was, for the most part, thrown away. It might be well enough to show this incidentally, but it was more important to rectify public sentiment.

MR. CLAPP was replied to by J. C. CLUER, who vindicated the English, Irish, and Scotch mechanics and operatives from certain remarks of Mr. CLAPP.

Soon after five o'clock, the meeting adjourned, to assemble again, in FANEUIL HALL, at seven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

Resolutions 1, 2, and 3, were again read by the Secretary, and the large audience present was eloquently addressed in their support, by EDMUND QUINCY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, H. C. WRIGHT, WILLIAM W. BROWN, and STEPHEN S. FOSTER.

H. C. WRIGHT offered the following resolution:—

5.—Resolved, That while this Republic exists in its present form, as a Republic that sanctions Slavery, there can be no reasonable hope that the miseries and oppressions inflicted upon the masses, by the despotisms of Europe, can be removed; inasmuch as the might of its example goes to strengthen the hands of tyrants, and to weaken those of the Champions of Freedom; therefore we would earnestly entreat all who are laboring for the freedom of Man in Great Britain and Ireland, in Austria, Italy, Russia, and in all lands, to unite with us in our efforts to procure the dissolution of this Slaveholding Union, by a moral and peaceful agitation, and thus to rid the world of this gigantic foe of liberty, and of the inalienable rights of man.

At ten o'clock, P. M., adjourned to meet in the Melodeon, to-morrow morning, at ten o'clock.

NOTE.—Faneuil Hall was well filled during the evening, and by an audience exceedingly attentive, evidently much interested, and sympathizing heartily with the resolutions and speeches; and scarce a dissenting voice or sound was heard during the entire evening.

THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

The Society met again in the Melodeon, the President in the Chair.

The first four resolutions were read and unanimously adopted, the Society acting upon them separately.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER took the floor in behalf of the measure of going to the polls to vote for persons publicly pledged not to hold any office under the existing Constitution of the United States, if elected; and offered a resolution on the subject.

Voted, To defer, for the present, the farther consideration of this subject.

The 5th Resolution was then called up, JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, being in the Chair, and spoken to by J. C. CLUER, H. CLAPP, Jr., R. B. ROGERS, Mr. PARKER, (late of London, now of Providence, R. I.) J. McCOMBE, of Georgetown, LEVY, of Lawrence, WM. LLOYD GARRISON,

and a gentleman from Philadelphia, whose name was called for, but not given. After which, the fifth resolution was unanimously adopted. Adjourned to half past two o'clock.

THURSDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, the President in the Chair.

HENRY WATSON, a fugitive from Slavery, addressed the Society in a brief narrative of some circumstances in his experience.

The following Resolution was then read by **S. MAY, Jr.**, who moved its adoption.

6.—Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to the cause and each other, to make every exertion, in our various towns and spheres, to rouse Abolitionists and Societies to their duty of contributing liberally to the Treasury of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies; and that we will endeavor to assemble the friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, in the several towns where we live, as soon as practicable, for the purpose of laying this subject before them, and devising effectual means of accomplishing the end in view.

This Resolution was supported by **S. MAY, Jr., WENDELL PHILLIPS, HIRAM WILSON, of Canada West, J. N. BUFFUM, J. M. FISK, PARKER PILLSBURY, and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON**, and was unanimously adopted.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on Nomination of Officers, reported a list of names, which report was accepted, of persons as Officers of the Society, for the ensuing year. [This list will be found in another place.]

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, from the Committee on Business, reported the following Resolutions:—

7.—Resolved, That while we would express our deep gratitude to all those earnest men and women, who find time and strength, amid their labors in behalf of British Reform, to study, understand, and protest against American Slavery, to give us their sympathy and aid, by munificent contributions, and by holding our Union up to the contempt of Europe, we feel that it would not be invidious to mention **WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT, HENRY VINCENT, and GEORGE THOMPSON**, as those to whose untiring advocacy our cause is especially indebted in this country, as well as for the hold it has gained on the hearts of the British people.

8.—Resolved, That the discriminating sense of justice, the steadfast devotedness, the generous munificence, the untiring zeal, the industry, skill, taste, and genius, with which British Abolitionists have co-operated with us for the extinction of Slavery, command alike our gratitude and

admiration; cheering us under the discouragements, strengthening us under the difficulties, and consoling us in the afflictions of the Cause; and shall ever be to us both an incentive and an example in its sacrifices and its labors.

Remarks upon these resolutions were offered by S. S. FOSTER, W. L. GARRISON, E. QUINCY, D. RICKETSON, and W. PHILLIPS, after which they were adopted, without a dissenting voice.

At half past five o'clock, adjourned to hold the closing session in Faneuil Hall, at seven o'clock.

THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Society met in Faneuil Hall, according to adjournment, EDMUND QUINCY in the Chair.

Wm. L. GARRISON, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions:—

9.—*Resolved*, That the Abolitionists of America hail with pleasure the movement of GEORGE THOMPSON and his faithful coadjutors, for the encouragement of the culture of cotton in British India, in order to supply the demand of that staple in the British manufactures, instead of importing their cotton, as at present, from the Slave States of this country; believing, as we do, that the success of his object will materially forward the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

10.—*Resolved*, That HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, in his late speech at the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society at Washington, declaring that this country is only for the white, and not for the black man; that the free colored native-born inhabitants cannot and ought not to be admitted to equal rights and equality in the United States, but should be so trodden down as to render existence intolerable here, and banishment to Africa a desirable alternative — demonstrably proves that he is the deadly foe of impartial liberty—that his pretensions to philanthropy are hollow mockeries—and that the Colonization Society, of which he is the President, is the embodiment of the Slaveholding villainy of the South, and of the Pro-Slavery ruffianism of the North.

11.—*Resolved*, That this Society strongly sympathizes with the people of Ireland, and the lovers of progress throughout the world, in the deep sense they entertain of the services of DANIEL O'CONNELL, as a champion of human freedom, and especially as a friend of the African Slave; that we gratefully recognize the faithfulness of his emphatic testimony against American Slavery, of his indignant rebuke of American Slaveholders, and of his cordial coöperation with American Abolitionists; and that we regard with profound sensibility the event of his

death, which has occurred during the last year, as one in which we have a common interest with them, and with the whole human race.

12.—*Resolved*, That it becomes us, on this our first meeting since the venerable presence of SETH SPRAGUE has passed away from our assembly and from the earth, to recall to mind the clearness of vision, the purity of purpose, the fidelity of principle, the freshness of enthusiasm, which that Anti-Slavery Patriarch, the connecting link between the Elder and the Latter Dispensations of Liberty, brought to the assistance of the Slave; and to resolve that we will show what reverence and love we bear to his memory, by the earnestness of our endeavors to live worthily of his example.

13.—*Resolved*, That while we are willing to believe that many supporters of the Wilmot Proviso really consider its passage sufficient to prevent the extension of Slavery, and while we rejoice at every such effort, as evidence of awakening interest on the subject of Slavery, and tending, even in its very failure, to throw light on the path through which alone safety can be found; still we regard it as a matter of comparative indifference, whether that Proviso receives the sanction of Congress or not, feeling that the attempt to restrain Slavery by laws and constitutions is precisely equivalent to damming up the Mississippi with bulrushes, and that the man who expects anything but failure from such a plan, has still the A B C of his country's history to learn.

14.—*Resolved*, That an instrument which binds those who swear to support it to commit crimes of the blackest hue, and sins of the most tremendous magnitude, is one that cannot be intelligently sanctioned or executed without aggravated guilt, and ought to be rejected with indignation and horror:—that such an instrument is the Constitution of the United States, which pledges the whole physical force of the nation to keep securely in their chains three millions of Slaves, makes the entire national domains Slave-hunting ground, and provides for a Slaveholding Oligarchy, incomparably more despotic than any order of nobility ever existing in any age of the world.

15.—*Resolved*, That this is not a question that can be postponed or evaded, by any plea of policy or necessity; by the assertion that “the powers that be are ordained of God”; by the excuse that there must be a government; by any disastrous consequences that may be predicted to trade or property: it is a question of humanity—a question of morals—involving the highest responsibilities, and relating to our obedience to God, and our duties to each other.

The meeting was addressed on the different subjects embraced in these resolutions by Dr. GRANDIN, of Boston, WM. L. GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, and HENRY C. WRIGHT.

NATHAN OSGOOD, of Salisbury, a member of the Liberty Party, then asked leave to take the platform, which was granted, and he addressed the meeting in defence of the nomination of JOHN P. HALE by the Liberty Party. He was much cheered by a delegation of his party which had just come from a meeting addressed by Mr. HALE.

WENDELL PHILLIPS again took the floor, in reply to Mr. Osgood, who afterwards rejoined, and was then followed by STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in a most searching exposition of the narrowness and illiberality of the so-called *Liberty* Party.

The Resolutions, which had been under discussion during the evening, were then taken up *serialim*, and adopted.

The following Resolutions were prepared for presentation to the meeting, but were accidentally mislaid, and not found until after the final adjournment. Undoubtedly, if offered, they would have been adopted with great unanimity.

Resolved, That we receive with deep gratitude the Address of forty thousand Scottish women to the women of America, on the subject of Slavery; sensible of the vast amount of devoted labor requisite to embody so imposing a testimony — of the striking example it sets us to use with scrupulous fidelity all the means in our power for the emancipation of the Slave, and the rebuke given to our laggard zeal by the untiring interest of these noble women in the welfare of a race whom they have never seen.

Resolved, That we recognize, with cordial satisfaction, the sagacity of our colored friends in this city, and their correct appreciation of their own position, and the welfare of the Slave, in refusing to be made the tools of the Liberty Party on a late occasion.

Resolved, That we deplore the continued degradation of our national character and purpose which find their meet and most welcome representative and candidate for the nation's highest office in that bloodhound of the Texan war, ZACHARY TAYLOR.

Resolved, That while we accord to JOHN P. HALE full honor for his magnanimous opposition to Texan Annexation and the further extension of Slavery, and would not abate one tittle due him for his manly course in that matter, we feel bound to point out to those Abolitionists whom the plausible professions of the late Liberty Party have, in times past, been able to delude, the utter recreancy to Anti-Slavery character of a set of men who, with the claims of being an Abolition Party continually on their lips, hold up for their Presidential candidate a man who has never been willing to be known as an Abolitionist, and whose principles on the subject no one has yet thought it worth while to find out; and call upon them to mark, that the event we have always prophesied has come to pass, namely, that the party has bartered its

professions for votes, and sacrificed the only principle it ever claimed to have, to the availability of its candidate.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the firmness of purpose, integrity, and sincere devotion to his idea of Anti-Slavery duty, manifested by JOHN G. PALFREY, in refusing to put into the Speaker's Chair one whose course had been sedulously modelled to suit the Slaveholders.

Resolved, That the choice of ROBERT C. WINTHROP for Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, was a grave insult to the people of this Commonwealth; that, under the guise of respect for New England, his election was the triumph of South Carolina, cunningly seizing, as a tool for her own purposes, a man whose only title to preferment was treason to his birthplace, and whose only characteristic is unbounded servility to the insolent assumptions of the basest oligarchy that ever crept into power.

Resolved, That while we are rejoiced to perceive, (as indicative of the change which is taking place in public sentiment,) a growing religious sympathy with the Anti-Slavery movement, we are still under the painful necessity of proclaiming the deplorable fact, that the great body of the American clergy and churches are giving 'aid and comfort' to the Southern traffickers in human flesh, either by direct participation in Slavery, by religious fellowship with those who enslave their fellow-men, by using the pulpit and the press as potent weapons with which to assail Abolitionists, by silence and indifference, or by treating the question of emancipation as foreign to their calling;—a fact which proves their claims, as the true embodiment and genuine representatives of Christianity, to be utterly spurious.

Voted, On motion of HENRY C. WRIGHT, that the Society do now adjourn, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., }
ANNE W. WESTON, } *Secretaries.*